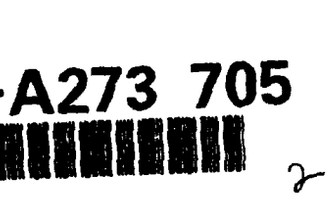
AD-A273 705



2

(2)

MADE IT IN THE TIMBER:

A HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF THE FORT LEONARD WOOD REGION, 1800-1940



Steven D. Smith

This document has been approved for public release and sale; its distribution is unlimited.

DTIC
ELECTE
DEC 14 1993
S A

1993

Prepared by:
Midwest Archaeological Research Center
Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois 61761

Prepared under the direction of:

US Army Corps of Engineers
Kansas City District

93-30166



93 12 13 014

MADE IT IN THE TIMBER:
A HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF THE FORT LEONARD WOOD REGION, 1800-1940

by: Steven D. Smith

Midwestern Archaeological Research Center
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois 61761

Steven D. Smith and Charles E. Orser, Jr.
Co-Principal Investigators

1993

CONTRACT NO. DACA41-91-D-0016
DELIVERY ORDER NO. 3

federal sponsoring agency:

US Army Corps of Engineers
Kansas City District

performed by:

Markman & Associates, Inc.
824 N. Biltmore Dr.
St Louis, MO 63105-2606

for:

Nakata Planning Group
516 N. Tejon St.
Colorado Springs, CO 80903

State Historic Preservation Library Data

USGS Quadrangle: Waynesville, Big Piney, Bloodland
Study Unit: Gasconade
Watershed: Upper Gasconade and Big Piney

Accesion For
NTIS CRA&I
DTIC TAB
Unannounced
Justification
By
Distribution /
Availability Codes
Dist | Avail and/or Special
A-1

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188

1a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION Unclassified	1b. RESTRICTIVE MARKINGS
2a. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY	3. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY OF REPORT Unlimited
2b. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE	
4. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)	5. MONITORING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)
6a. NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION Nakata Planning Group 6b. OFFICE SYMBOL (If applicable)	7a. NAME OF MONITORING ORGANIZATION
6c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) 516 North Tejon St. Colorado Springs, CO 80903	7b. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code)
8a. NAME OF FUNDING/SPONSORING ORGANIZATION Kansas City District Corps Engineers 8b. OFFICE SYMBOL (If applicable) CEMRK-PD-R	9. PROCUREMENT INSTRUMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER Contract No. DACA41-91-0016 D.O. #003
8c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) 601 E. 12th Street Kansas City, MO 64106-2896	10. SOURCE OF FUNDING NUMBERS PROGRAM ELEMENT NO. / PROJECT NO. / TASK NO. / WORK UNIT ACCESSION NO.

11. TITLE (Include Security Classification)
Made it in the Timber: A Historic Overview of the Fort Leonard Wood Region 1800-1940

12. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S)
Steven D. Smith

13a. TYPE OF REPORT	13b. TIME COVERED	14. DATE OF REPORT (Year, Month, Day)	15. PAGE COUNT
Final	FROM Mar 92 TO July 93	93 7 30	162

16. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATION
Prepared by the Midwestern Archaeological Research Center, Illinois State University through Markman & Associates, Inc., St. Louis, MO. and the Nakata Planning Group, Inc.

17. COSATI CODES		
FIELD	GROUP	SUB-GROUP

18. SUBJECT TERMS (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)
culture history
historic archaeology
Upland South
cultural resources

19. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)
This report describes the history of the Fort Leonard Wood region of Pulaski County, Missouri from 1800 to 1940 and defines a historic context for the management of historic archaeological resources dating to that period. A landscape perspective is used and from that perspective upland south culture is defined as a historic context. Research questions and planning objectives are offered for the future management of the historic archaeological resources of Fort Leonard Wood.

20. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY OF ABSTRACT ☐ UNCLASSIFIED/UNLIMITED ☐ SAME AS RPT. ☐ DTIC USERS	21. ABSTRACT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION
22a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL	22b. TELEPHONE (Include Area Code) / 22c. OFFICE SYMBOL

DD Form 1473, JUN 86 *Previous editions are obsolete.* SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

The study performed herein by the Contractor for the Corps of Engineers is called for in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (PL 89-665) as amended. Accomplishment of this work provides documentation evidencing compliance with Executive Order 11593 "Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment" dated 13 May 1971, and Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report details the history of the Fort Leonard Wood region of Pulaski County, Missouri from 1800 to 1940 and defines a historic context for the management of historic archaeological resources dating to that period. A landscape perspective is used and from that perspective, Upland South culture is discussed as a historic context. Research questions and planning objectives are offered for the future management of the historic archaeological resources at Fort Leonard Wood.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures. vi

List of Tables. viii

Acknowledgments. ix

Chapter I: Introduction To The Project. 1
Project Need and Goals 4
Research Design. 5
Previous Archaeological Research 5
Landscape and Historic Context 8
Study Area Defined 10
Methods 11
Phase I 11
Phase II 14
Phase III 14
Summary 14

Chapter II: Initial Occupation and Settlement To 1866. 16
The Primeval Landscape 16
Exploration and Initial Occupation to 1833 22
Early Pulaski County: 1833 to 1860 27
Population and Settlement 29
Pioneer Agriculture 31
Lumbering and Other Occupations 34
Roads 36
Antebellum Towns and Social Institutions 44
The Civil War in Pulaski County 46
The Changing Landscape: A Summary 51

Chapter III: Farming and Tie-Hacking: The Landscape from 1867 To 1910 53
The Reconstruction of the Landscape 53
The Late-Nineteenth Century Landscape. 54
Population and the Effect of the Railroads 54
The Tie-Hackers 59
General and Subsistence Agriculture 61
Roads 65
Towns, Villages and Trading Centers 68
Political and Social Institutions 72
A Summary of the Late-Nineteenth Century Landscape 75

Chapter IV: The Landscape Exhausted: 1910 to 1940 77
Cosmopolitan Ozarks 77
Population and Occupations 77
Agriculture in the Twentieth Century 84
Roads and Transportation 88
Towns, Villages and Trading Centers 91
Political and Social Institutions 96
The Depression Landscape 100
The Building of Fort Leonard Wood 107
The Twentieth Century Landscape 108

Chapter V: Landscape, Historic Context, and Management for Historic Sites at Fort Leonard Wood 110
The Changing Landscape From 1800 to 1940: A Review 110
Historic Context: Ozark Life and Landscape, An Upland South Derivation 113
Settlement Patterns 116
Economic Patterns 120
Upland South Ozark Agricultural Model 121
Social and Political Patterns 125
Archaeological Manifestations of the Ozark-Upland South Derivation 128
Site Classes and Types. 128
Approximate Date Range 130
Visibility 130
Type Signature. 131
Sensitivity. 132
Archaeology and Isolation. 133
Historic Themes 134
Theme: Upland South Ozark Derivation 135
Theme: Pioneer History 138
Theme: Civil War in Pulaski County 138
Theme: Tie-Hacking and Lumbering 138
Theme: The Effect of the Railroads 139
Theme: The Depression Landscape 139
Theme: Outlaws and Bushwackers 140
An Experimental Application 141
Management of Historic Resources at Fort Leonard Wood 143
Identification 144
Evaluation 145
Management and Preservation 146
Conclusions 148

References Cited 149

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Location of Fort Leonard Wood.	2
Figure 1.2	Location of Fort Leonard Wood Projected onto a 1938 State Highway County Road Map	3
Figure 2.1	Geological Map of Pulaski County, Missouri	17
Figure 2.2	Map Showing Roads in Pulaski County, Missouri	37
Figure 2.3	Roads in the Area of Pulaski County in 1860s, From "Map of Missouri"	39
Figure 2.4	Roads in the Area of Pulaski County in 1860s, From "Map of the Southern States".	40
Figure 2.5	Roads in the Area of Pulaski County During Civil War, From "Map of Western Theater".	41
Figure 2.6	Close-up of G.L.O. for T35N, R11W, 1845	43
Figure 3.1	Campbell's Map of Pulaski County	55
Figure 3.2	Close-up of Fort Leonard Wood Region showing roads around 1900-1906 from map entitled "Pulaski County, Missouri"	67
Figure 4.1	Close-up of 1942 (Revised 1944) U.S. Army Engineer Map of Fort Leonard Wood, Showing CCC camp and road system	83
Figure 4.2	Close-up of Plat Map of Pulaski County, Missouri	90
Figure 4.3	Tourist map of Pulaski County, Missouri, 1940	92
Figure 4.4	Bloodland drawn by unknown informant	94
Figure 4.5	Brown family at Wharton General Store, a typical trading center	97
Figure 4.6	Farmhouse and Landscape in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940	102
Figure 4.7	Landscape in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940	102
Figure 4.8	Farm house in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940	103
Figure 4.9	Rural residence in uplands of Fort Leonard Wood Region, 1940	103
Figure 4.10	Farm family in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940	104
Figure 4.11	Rural residence in the uplands of Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940	104

Figure 4.12 Two-story residence in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940 105

Figure 5.1 Agricultural Continuum at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri 122

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	Ozark Settlement Sequence Modified from McGrath and Ray 1987	7
Table 2.1	Population Figures for Pulaski County: 1840 to 1860	29
Table 2.2	Early Settlers in the Fort Leonard Wood Region	30
Table 2.3	Animal Production for Pulaski County: 1840-1860	32
Table 2.4	Crop Production for Pulaski County: 1840-1860	32
Table 2.5	Civil War Actions in the Waynesville Area: July 1862 to January 1865	48
Table 3.1	Population Figures for Pulaski County: 1870-1910	56
Table 3.2	Population of Cullen, Roubidoux, and Piney Townships, Pulaski County, Missouri: 1870-1910	58
Table 3.3	Animal Production for Pulaski County: 1870-1910	62
Table 3.4	Crop Production for Pulaski County: 1870-1910	62
Table 3.5	Farm and Farm Size in Pulaski County	64
Table 3.6	Post Offices in the Fort Leonard Wood Region	70
Table 4.1	Population Figures for Pulaski County: 1910-1940	78
Table 4.2	Population Figures for: Townships Cullen, Roubidoux, Piney: 1910-1940	79
Table 4.3	Population Density per Square Mile for Pulaski County Townships: 1920 and 1930	79
Table 4.4	Animal Production for Pulaski County: 1910-1940	87
Table 4.5	Crop Production for Pulaski County: 1910-1940	87
Table 4.6	Farm Sizes in Pulaski County: 1910-1940	87
Table 4.7	Farm Owners and Tenants, Pulaski County: 1910-1940	88
Table 5.1	Classes and Types of Archaeological Sites, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri	129
Table 5.2	Historic Themes: Ozark Life and Landscape, An Upland South Derivation.	135
Table 5.3	UTM Coordinates from GRASS and Magellan GPS Instrument	142

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Acknowledging the many people who contributed to the completion of a project such as this historic overview is a joyful but anxious duty. I am delighted to name those who have assisted, because no project is done alone, but at the same time anxious that no one is missed. Undoubtedly, I will miss someone, so let me begin by thanking any and all who, through my own inattention, are not included herein.

At Fort Leonard Wood and Waynesville, Missouri, the hospitality was overwhelming. First and foremost I must mention Richard Edging, who cleared-off a desk for me at the Environmental/Natural Resources Office, showed me the post and its archaeological sites, and assisted in a careful inspection of local restaurants. Richard is a real asset to the installation's cultural resource program. The impetus for getting this project started was through the hard work of Emily Brown, Environmental Specialist, and Scott Murrell, Environmental Branch Chief at the Directorate of Engineering and Housing, both of Fort Leonard Wood, and Camille Lechliter of the Kansas City Corps of Engineers. Also at the Directorate, Cindy Wyant and Dave Jones provided interviews and great suggestions for local sources on the history of the area. Cindy provided a careful edit of the draft manuscript and more sources than I could possibly cover during the project! James Black and John Grinstead, longtime residents and part of the Fort Leonard Wood family, also granted interviews. Robert K. Combs of the U.S. Army Engineer Museum and Larry D. Roberts of the U.S. Army Engineer Center (both at Fort Leonard Wood), allowed me behind the scenes to inspect their historical documents pertaining to pre-installation history. In Waynesville, Van Beydler of KJPW, Harry Williams and William C. Morgan of the Pulaski County Abstract and Title, Co., Lorriane Rigsby, the President of the Pulaski County Historical Society, also assisted in the discovery of local history and sources. George Lane and Maurice Vaughan, past residents of the land that is now Fort Leonard Wood, granted interviews.

Throughout Missouri people were interested in the project and helpful. Milton Rafferty of Southwest Missouri State University, Thomas Burge formerly with the Mark Twain National Forest and now with the National Park Service in San Francisco, Mrs. Betty Pritchett a local photographer, Robert Jacobson of the U.S.G.S. Rolla, Missouri, all granted me telephone interviews regarding the local area. John F. Bradbury and Mark C. Stauter of the Rolla Branch of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri were especially helpful. John even allowed me access to documents of yet unpublished personal research he was conducting. Also in Rolla at the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Arthur W. Hebrank, Bruce D. Carter and Peter T. Price helped locate historic maps. There were also numerous archivists and assistants at some of the best archives in the United States, especially the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri, Columbia and the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. At the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District, Camille

Lechliter and Berkely Bailey provided administrative oversite. Finally in Missouri, Charles W. Markman, Timothy Baumann, and Richard Stoutner of Markman & Associates, Inc., were very helpful in the field and in completing various aspects of the project. It was a pleasure to work with them. Bob Preston of Nakata Planning Group, Colorado Springs, Colorado, oversaw the final production of the draft and final report.

At the Midwestern Archaeological Research Center, Illinois State University, Charles E. Orser, Jr., acted as Co-Principal Investigator, took the lead in the administration of the project through ISU. Lucy Johnson assisted in typing and administration. Finally, I must truly acknowledge the fine drafting by Jerry Moore of MARC. He is a magician in the creation of clear figures from old maps. At the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Mark Groover, Cindy Abrams, and Elizabeth Arnett Fields assisted in editing. Errors, omissions, general and specific bungles remain my responsibility.

Steven D. Smith

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION TO THE PROJECT

> The plateau and hill regions of the central Ozarks were settled last, in part because of their poverty, but principally because of their isolation (Sauer 1920: 148).

Despite its isolation, tough, independent farmers from Tennessee and Kentucky gradually settled the region of southern Pulaski County now bounded by Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, beginning in the early-nineteenth century (Figure 1.1 and 1.2). The following pages relate the known history of that occupation from 1800 to 1940. It is a history as fragmentary as its sources. While the Ozark region is well known by its folklore and unique culture, this particular area of the Ozarks has received little attention by scholars. Primary sources are almost nonexistent. For instance, most of the county records were lost in the Pulaski County courthouse fire of 1903 (Turpin n.d.: i). Furthermore, few people remain today who lived in the area prior to the fort and who could tell the story. But like the people who made this history, enough of it has survived the challenges of the landscape and time to construct this record.

In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act (P.L. 89-665, as amended) recognized that ". . . the preservation of this irreplaceable heritage [i.e. historic properties significant to the Nation's heritage] is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of cultural, educational, aesthetic, inspirational, economic, and energy benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations of Americans" (NHPA Section 1(b)(4)). This act, its regulations, and subsequent legislation required federal agencies, like the U.S. Army, to inventory, preserve, and manage these properties or cultural resources. This history provides the background and context from which the historic archaeological sites within Fort Leonard Wood may be evaluated for their significance to local, state and national heritage.

This historic overview and context research report of the Fort Leonard Wood area was prepared by the Midwestern Archaeological Research Center, Illinois State University, under a subcontract with Markman & Associates, Inc., St. Louis, Missouri. For this project, Markman & Associates, Inc., was a subcontractor to the Nakata Planning Group, Colorado Springs, Colorado, completing Delivery Order No. 3, Contract No. DACA42-91-D-0016, Project No. 9107011, administered by the Kansas City District, Corps of Engineers, Kansas City, Missouri, and funded by the U.S. Army.

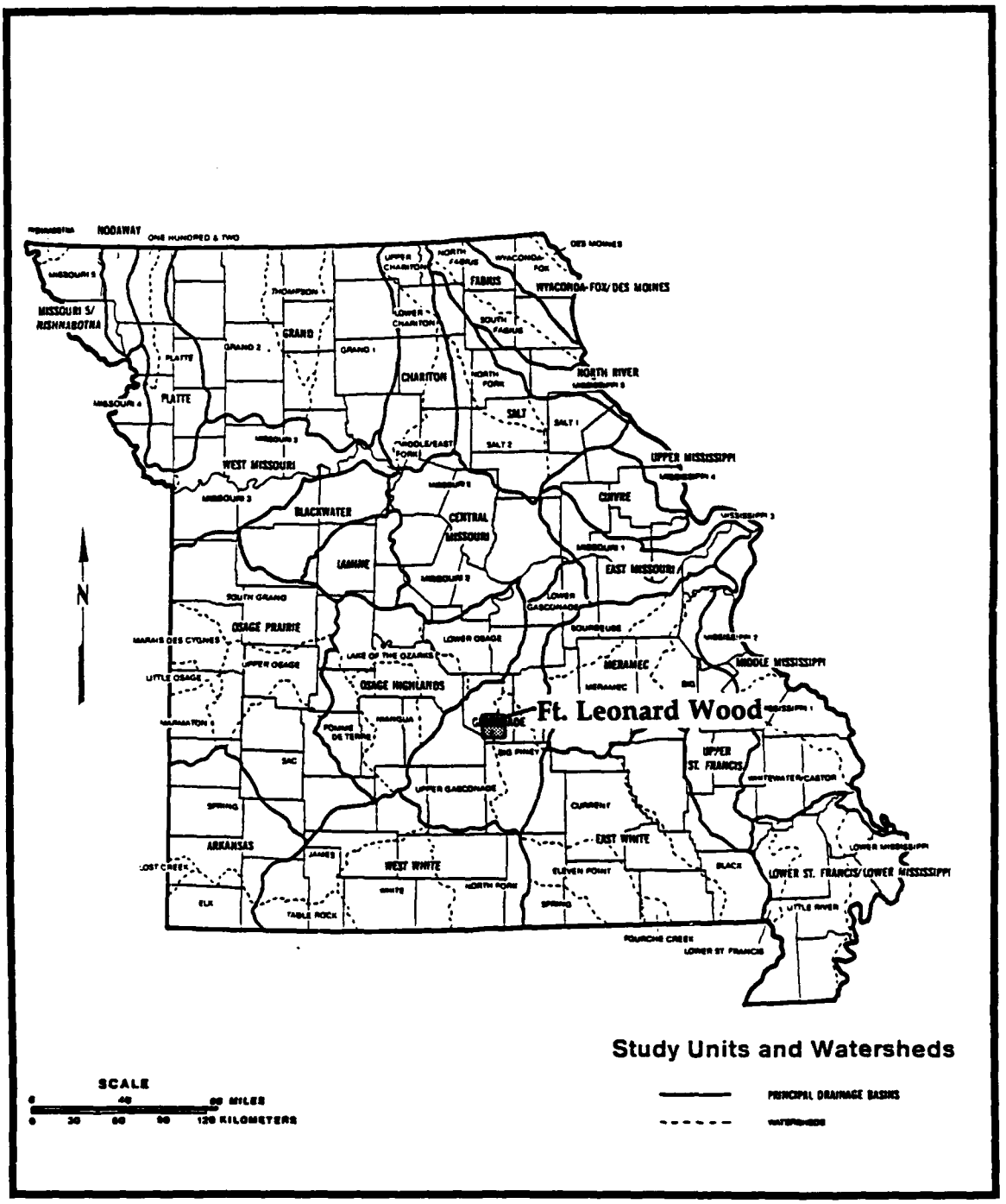


Figure 1.1 Location of Fort Leonard Wood (after Weston and Weichman 1987).

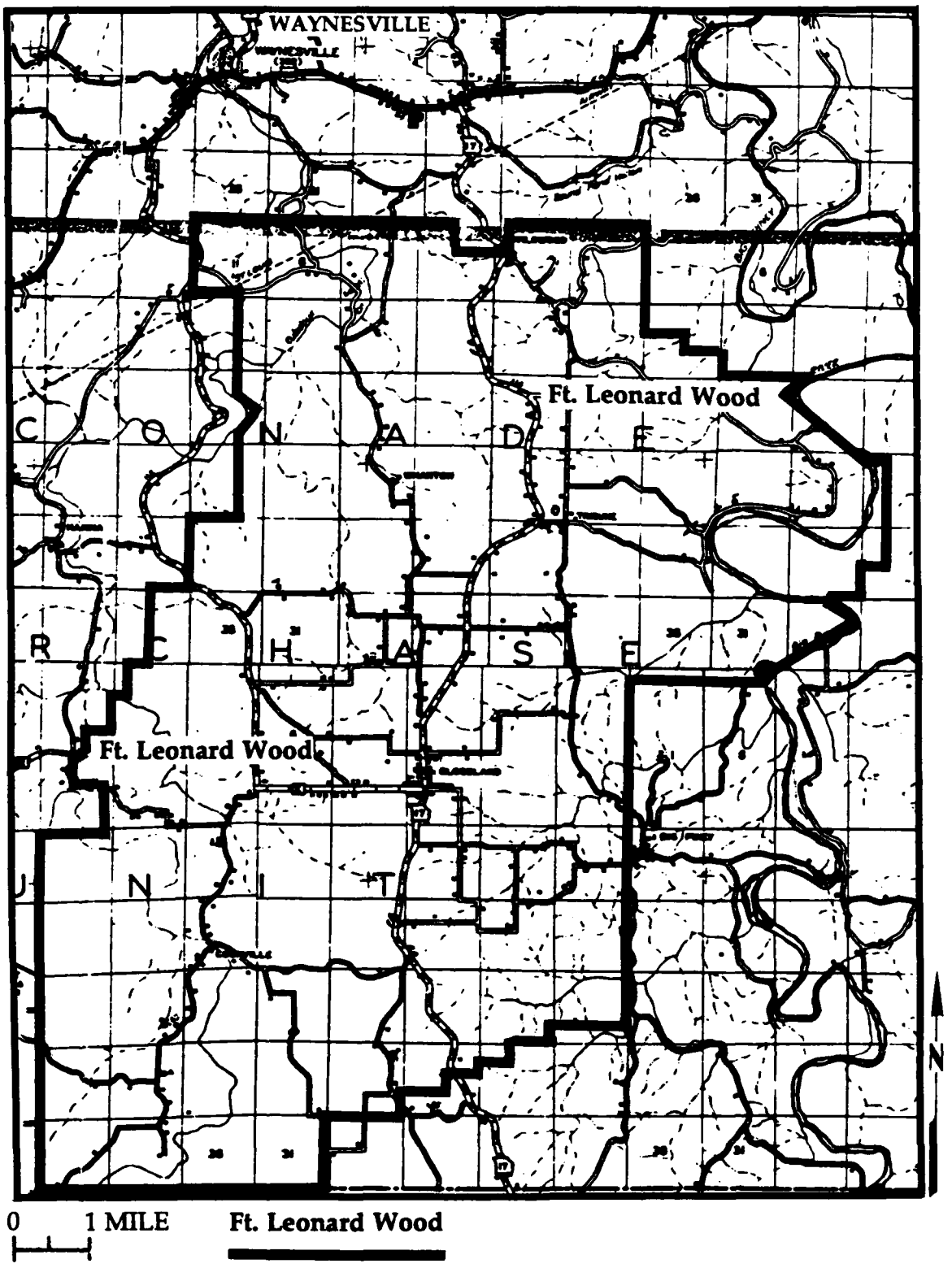


Figure 1.2 Location of Fort Leonard Wood Projected onto a 1938 State Highway County Road Map.

PROJECT NEED AND GOALS

Army Regulation 420-40 sets forth Army policy, procedures, and responsibilities for the management of cultural resources on Army installations. This regulation insures that Army cultural resource management is consistent with national policies set forth in the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), described generally above, and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). For example, Section 110 (a) (2) of the National Historic Preservation Act directs federal agencies to establish a program to locate, inventory and nominate all properties under the agencies' ownership or control which qualify for the National Register of Historic Places.

Army Regulation 420-40 also states that cultural resources which meet the established criteria for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places must be taken into account in any undertaking, on a case by case basis, in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Office, or within the procedures set forth by an installation Historic Preservation Plan. Fort Leonard Wood not only has developed a draft Historic Preservation Plan, it also has developed a Memorandum of Agreement with the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office (Harland Bartholomew and Associates 1989). Also serving as a guide for cultural resource management objectives at Fort Leonard Wood is the *Master Plan for Archaeological Resource Protection in Missouri* (Weston and Weichman 1987). A model for organizing the study of prehistory in Missouri for preservation and management purposes, it currently does not cover historic archaeological resources.

The primary goal of this report was to substantially augment the present information about historic resources provided in the Historic Preservation Plan (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1991: 1). As drafted, the plan did not fully address the preservation and management of historic sites because documentary sources about the area are few in number and difficult to assess. However, central to historic preservation management and planning at the installation level is the identification and development of historic contexts. Historic contexts are defined as "an organizational format that groups historic properties that share similarities of time, theme, and geography" (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, National Park Service 1989: 7). These organizational constructs provide the context within which individual archaeological sites are evaluated for significance, and thus eligibility for inclusion on the National Register. Historic contexts are developed out of a region's (installation's) background history (Derry et al. 1977: 14-15). Therefore, to properly evaluate historic archaeological sites within Fort Leonard Wood, it was necessary to develop an appropriate historic context, which was herein determined through an installation historic overview. This report provides that historic overview (Chapters II, III, and IV) and outlines a historic context (Chapter V) appropriate for the historic resources at Fort Leonard Wood.

A secondary goal of this project was to identify some site types appropriate to the historic context and locate examples. During a limited field effort, the UTM coordinates of these sites were to be confirmed using a GPS instrument. Concurrent with the execution of this contract, Markman & Associates, Inc., conducted a field survey of 7,200 acres within Fort Leonard Wood (Baumann and Markman 1993a; Baumann and Markman 1993b). To the extent possible, efforts were made to coordinate fieldwork, analysis, and preliminary findings between the two projects.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Previous Archaeological Research

Extensive archaeological survey and research has been conducted within Fort Leonard Wood and the Mark Twain National Forest (e.g. American Resources Group 1992; Douthit et al. 1979; Harland Bartholomew & Associates, Inc. 1989; McNerney and Neal 1991; Moffat et al. 1989; Niquette 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985; Niquette et al. 1983; Purrington and Turner 1981). Much less work has been completed in Pulaski County, outside of federal property holdings (e.g. Colley and Fuller 1976; Reeder 1988). Furthermore, a master plan for archaeological research in Missouri has been developed (Weston and Weichman 1987) placing the project within the Gasconade Study Unit (Figure 1.1). While all of the above have provided a substantial understanding of local and regional prehistory, little attention has been paid to local and regional history in an attempt to provide context for discovered historic resources. A notable exception is Mary Lee Douthit et al. 1979, *Overview of Cultural Resources in the Mark Twain National Forest, Volumes I through IV*. This report is an excellent resource for historical research in the Mark Twain National Forest which included the Fort Leonard Wood region prior to its acquisition by the U.S. Army. This multi-volume report provides an extensive bibliography of documentary sources pertinent to the forest region. Volume I also contains a thorough history of the forest region (Douthit et al. 1979: 114-282).

Despite a lack of historic archaeological work, historic sites have been discovered and recorded during surveys in Pulaski County, and initial attempts have been made to provide an analytical framework for research. Previous work at Fort Leonard Wood has identified the area as being characterized primarily by small farmsteads and villages (Moffat et al. 1989: 29-33). Moffat et al. 1989, based on work by Ray et al. 1984, Fraser et al. 1981, and Niquette 1983, have divided the various historic sites of the Mark Twain National Forest region into six types: 1) Habitation/Farmstead; 2) Nonhabitation (structures); 3) Dump or Discard; 4) Industrial; 5) Rural villages and associated sites; and 6) Military sites (Moffat et al. 1989: 39-43). Habitation sites are further subdivided into Types A, B, and C. The distinctions between these

habitation types are difficult to discern. However, they appear to be based on a combination of site size, numbers of surface artifacts, and permanency of construction materials. For example, Type A sites have house structures "...medium to large size and of substantial construction. The foundation generally was made of sandstone, limestone, or brick and was under the entire perimeter of the house," with surface artifact scatters being medium to high in number (Moffat et al. 1989: 39-40). Type B habitation houses have a smaller wood frame construction with brick or stone supports. It is characterized by low to medium artifact density. Type C habitations are still smaller in size with even less substantial structures; "...the structure was usually supported only on the four corners and midway along the length by stone blocks, rarely by brick" (Moffat et al. 1989: 40-41).

The weakness of this typology of habitation sites for research and management purposes is clearly evident. It is based entirely on the physical aspects of the observed surface remains at an archaeological site without much regard to the culture of the occupants. This typology may make some sense when organizing the survey results based strictly on physical site attributes, although survey methodology and surface visibility at time of survey will influence the results, as will the level of subsurface investigation. Regardless, the typology minimally addresses how the physical nature of the sites are tied to cultural processes, which would address how they are important for research purposes, and thus address their eligibility for the National Register of Historic Sites. Concerning the cultural attributes of the site occupants, the types are vaguely tied to economic status; Type A sites are defined as upper economic status, Type B and C sites as lower economic status. However, simply the date of site occupation, which affects the construction materials used, will substantially negate any conclusions about the economic status of the occupants. Generally, the broader site types are more clear-cut, being functionally defined, except for nonhabitation sites which are defined as outbuildings (Moffat et al. 1989: 41). Obviously, outbuildings should be regarded as part of a farmstead or habitation site whenever it is possible to do so.

What is missing from this site classification is any historic context, or a research framework for the development of an understanding of the cultural systems operating within the region. Robert Flanders in McGrath and Ray (1987) has defined an Ozark Historic Settlement Sequence which brackets various "cultural groups" within a chronological order and at the same time identifies possible site types (Table 1.1). While this was quoted in Moffat et al 1989, it is left unclear how this sequence is related to the site types defined in their report, or discovered during a typical cultural resource survey. Still, Flanders' settlement sequence has application to the history and culture of the Fort Leonard Wood region. In fact, a modification of this sequence is suggested in this overview.

The archaeological research framework for frontier settlement in the Ozark region developed by Price and Price (1978) is more relevant toward addressing historic context. This effort addressed settlement

and subsistence systems operating during nineteenth century Euro-American historic occupation. They defined three different settlement-subsistence systems: 1) Hunter-Squatter; 2) Subsistence Farmer; and 3) Planter (Price and Price 1978: 9-10). Of critical importance to this study, Price and Price recognized that these three systems may exist contemporaneously in a region. However, the primary focus of their research was in better defining the Subsistence Farmer settlement system. Here the farmstead was the basic unit,

> ...but was only one unit in a larger community system [Arensberg and Kimball 1965: 1-27] which included specialized activity sites--mills, cemeteries, and churches, for example--which served specialized functions in the social or economic subsystems and multi-activity sites--towns and nucleated settlements--which in turn served a variety of functions (Price and Price 1978: 12).

This community system was open with small nucleated settlements centered around a mill and/or store. The description is generally characteristic of the settlement pattern in the Fort Leonard Wood region, with modifications. For example, the pattern at Fort Leonard Wood persisted well into the twentieth century, beyond the normally defined frontier period.

TABLE 1.1

OZARK SETTLEMENT SEQUENCE MODIFIED FROM MCGRATH AND RAY 1987

Cultural Groups	Dates	Occupation/Site Types
Euro-American hillpeople-hunters, traders Native American: Osage Kickapoo, Delaware, Shawnee, Cherokee	1800-1830	Euro-American dwellings, trading posts, related facilities, temporary Native American dwellings, fields, and other structures
Old Ozarks Frontier Anglo-European, Americans	1830-1860	Isolated houses and farmsteads, rural hamlets, and small villages
Civil War	1860-1865	Depopulation, fortification in some towns, battle sites, camps
New South Ozarks new immigrants Yankees, Germans	1865-1930	Growth of towns, railroads, rural settlements, timber and mining settlements
Cosmopolitan Ozarks State and National Agencies	1930-1970	New national architectural style damming of rivers, recreational industries
New Ozarks Frontier	1970-present	Dramatic increase in settlement, population growth

Finally, it should be noted that prior to the historic research in this report, study units had been drafted for the Fort Leonard Wood region. These included: 1) Colonization -pre 1830; 2) Old Ozark Frontier -1830 to 1860; 3) Agriculture and Lumber Industry -1860 to 1910; and, 4) Expanded Agriculture 1910-1940 (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1991: 3). Based on the research discussed herein, these study units fit the general chronological development of the Fort Leonard Wood region. Consolidation and refinements will be seen in the succeeding chapters.

Landscape and Historic Context

The historic overview in this report will take an even broader research perspective than that developed by Price and Price (1978). In development of regional history specifically for cultural resource management, it is crucial that the history be developed in light of basic archaeological research. This is because the value of an archaeological property is measured primarily, and often wholly, by its potential to reveal information about the past. Indeed, archaeological sites are usually determined significant because "... they have yielded, or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history" (36 CFR 60.4 d). Further, since the majority of pre-1940 historic cultural resources to be managed on Fort Leonard Wood are archaeological, the research framework for any study of this type will inevitably have a spatial as well as chronological construct.

One useful research framework for integrating chronology and space in archaeology is through a settlement pattern approach (Chang 1972) recently broadened and modified into "landscape" archaeology (Crumley and Marquardt 1987; Butzer 1982). "The landscape is the spatial manifestation of the relations between humans and their environment" (Crumley and Marquardt 1987: 1). The landscape construct, itself, is not new, and cultural geographers have found it to be a useful model for some time. "The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result" (Sauer 1963: 343). However, recent archaeological work has broadened the perspective taken by cultural geographers, adding to the data base of such studies the subsurface manifestations of human occupation along with theoretical perspectives of anthropology and ethnohistory. Thus, landscape archaeology is a useful method of integrating culture history (Willey and Phillips 1958; Flannery 1974), culture geography (Kniffen 1960; Wagner 1974), spatial analysis (Clarke 1977; Hodder and Orton 1976), and settlement pattern (Chang 1972) research under a single overarching theoretical framework. The landscape approach uses all of these perspectives.

Landscape archaeology approaches the human occupation of space on both a multiscalar and diachronic level; integrating social variables with land-human relationships. As we occupy the land, we

mark, scar, and modify it in ways that reflect our culture. As our culture changes, the land is altered, creating new landscapes. Further, our culture is transformed by the challenges of living on the land. Thus, landscapes are formed as human interactions modify the land, and at the same time, the characteristics of existing landscapes influence human interactions. No better example is found than in the Ozarks and within the area that is now Fort Leonard Wood.

The landscape approach is especially useful in providing a theoretical framework for resource management within a fixed area like Fort Leonard Wood, since landscapes are also closely related to historic contexts. Rural landscapes, a type of resource management tool, are defined as "a geographical area that historically has been used by people or shaped or modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possessed a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features" (McClelland et al. 1991:1-2). This definition of landscape will be used in the historic overview described in Chapters II, III, and IV. The author will attempt to relate the history of the region by 'painting' the initial landscape prior to Euro-American settlement and then describing the changes that occurred as Euro-Americans occupied the region in gradually increasing numbers. Through time from 1800 to 1940, three landscapes will be painted in the three chapters. The landscapes developed for Fort Leonard Wood will describe the interactions between the people and the land and attempt to reconstruct a sense of place in time and space. The developments and changes in these landscapes will identify historic themes . Each landscape will also provide an expectation of site types, their pattern on the landscape, and their physical characteristics.

The historic themes and site types will be defined, organized and discussed within a historic context (Chapter V). Here the goal will be to define the characteristics or attributes of the various landscapes which form a historic context to be used in the future research and management of the resources within the installation. Essentially, a cultural geography will be provided in Chapter V, describing Ozark life in the Fort Leonard Wood region. Further, a settlement model will be discussed within the framework of the historic context. Hypotheses for testing during future research will be offered, organized by the relevant themes. Finally, management policies and practices will be suggested for the historic resources known or expected on Fort Leonard Wood.

Obviously it is impossible to fully reconstruct the past, however, through such an attempt, a perspective will be provided which will frame the future management objectives of cultural resource managers at Fort Leonard Wood. It is hoped this report will provide the installation cultural resource management program with such a framework for both research and management.

Study Area Defined

An initial task of any historic research is to define an appropriate study area. This was especially difficult for the Fort Leonard Wood project. The boundaries of Fort Leonard Wood are, historically speaking, artificial. That is, the modern boundaries of the fort had no effect on the lives and culture of the people who lived within them from 1800 to 1940. Research for this project focused, whenever possible, on the Fort Leonard Wood area. However, a lack of primary sources hindered focusing solely on this area. Further, the lives of the people within the area obviously were influenced by historical and cultural events outside these boundaries. Thus, the focus or scale of this report and the research conducted, constantly shifted, broadening in some instances and narrowing in others. For instance, Fort Leonard Wood falls within the Ozarks, a much larger geographic area which contains both a unique geography and culture (Rafferty 1980). Much of Ozark history and culture is also Pulaski County history and culture. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine some Ozark history as it influenced the people in the Fort Leonard Wood region. Likewise, activities and decisions made in surrounding towns like Waynesville, Arlington, Newburg, Relfe, and Spring Creek greatly affected the people within the Fort Leonard Wood area. As another example, the building of the railroad had a profound impact on the people and the landscape of this region even though it was built north of the Fort Leonard Wood study area. In summary, the geographic focus of discussion changes through time and as a result of historical events taking place within and beyond the installation.

In general, the study area for the historic overview continues to narrow or focus through time. That is, the very early history is by necessity broadly regional in scope including the entire northern Ozarks, because Euro-American population was widely dispersed and scarce. The mid-nineteenth century history of the Fort Leonard Wood region then takes primarily a county perspective, as Pulaski County boundaries shrank to their present borders. This county perspective continues into the twentieth century. However, more and more information begins to come to light about this southern portion of the county beginning at the turn of the twentieth century. After World War I, documentary resources allow the author to focus specifically on the Fort Leonard Wood area, and its surrounding townships. This is supplemented by informant memories. Just prior to the construction of Fort Leonard Wood, W.P.A. social program studies were conducted and are quoted here to provide a detailed snapshot of the people and the late 1930s landscape within the present boundaries of Fort Leonard Wood. Though much of the following history is broad in scope, wherever possible historical information about the specific area of Fort Leonard Wood is used. Where this history is more regional in scope and less focused on the installation boundaries, it is important to remember that the descriptions provided are applicable to the Fort Leonard Wood region, or perhaps, this should be a hypothesis to be tested at the installation in future research.

For readers intimately familiar with Fort Leonard Wood it should be noted that the maps and historical descriptions herein do not always precisely follow the current installation boundaries. Some liberties have been taken to adjust boundary lines on the maps illustrated in which the scale projected has masked precise details. The installation boundaries since 1941 have changed and will continue to change, so the effect of these adjustments are not considered significant. For instance, the current southwestern installation boundaries spill over into Laclede County. The reader will note that historical references concerning Laclede County are very scarce in this history. On the other hand, the history does include some details of places outside the boundaries of the present installation. The most obvious example is the inclusion of the village of Big Piney, which abuts the installation's eastern boundary. The history of Big Piney is integral to the history of the region and people and thus it is entirely appropriate to include it here. In summary, the history described in this report focuses on the the southern part of modern Pulaski County which contains Roubidoux, Piney and parts of Cullen Townships.

It will be emphasized herein that the changes seen on the landscape, the occupation of the landscape, and the evolution of the people's culture in this particular region all occurred very gradually. The people situated within the boundaries of Fort Leonard Wood in the 1930s lived within a cultural system and used a material culture very similar to their nineteenth century ancestors. This makes informants' memories about their lives on the land very valuable in describing the past. It also makes the history of the Ozarks, and of Pulaski County, very relevant to the particular region bounded by Fort Leonard Wood.

METHODS

The research for this report was conducted using a three-phased approach: 1) archival research and other historical data acquisition; 2) analysis of historic documents and development of historic overview; and 3) archaeological fieldwork and integration of archaeological data within the report. Some phases have occurred simultaneously.

Phase I

Archival research was the main thrust of this project and continued throughout, with two main acquisition efforts. The first effort consisted of a four-day archival reconnaissance (March 30 to April 2, 1992) in which the author sought sources of primary data within Missouri and Pulaski County and became familiar with the local Fort Leonard Wood terrain. Archives, libraries, historical societies, and courthouses in Missouri were visited in this initial step with the goal being simply to locate and assess the amount of pertinent materials available. Some data gathering was completed, but where materials were abundant, they were noted for examination in the second effort.

During the second effort, the author conducted an intensive survey of archives and libraries in Missouri, conducted interviews with seven local informants, and also visited historic sites within Fort Leonard Wood. This work was conducted during the period from May 11 to May 22, 1992. Major sources of primary data located and assessed during the first visit were revisited and all pertinent data was collected or copied. This effort inevitably led to the discovery of further data sources and those archives or libraries were also visited. Between visits, archives and libraries in the author's bases of operation (Illinois and South Carolina) were assessed for secondary or ancillary sources of information about the study area.

Archival, library and other research was directed toward discovery of information about the Fort Leonard Wood region using, as a general guide, the following key search words and phrases:

Missouri, Pulaski County, Ozarks

-history, settlement, exploration, vegetation, geology, rivers, statistics, industry, villages, churches, schools, travel, archaeology, railroads, roads, forests, culture, geography, newspapers, maps, historic photographs, gazetteers, agriculture, settlers and pioneers, historic sites, Civil War, C.C.C., Forest Service, W.P.A., Fort Leonard Wood, settlement patterns, townships (Cullen, Roubidoux, Piney), and Pulaski County records (census, deeds, abstracts, plats, church records, school records, court records), Pulaski County genealogy, specific villages of: Cookville, Bloodland, Wharton, Palace, Wildwood, Big Piney.

As these topics were researched, previously unknown sources became apparent and led to other topics and directions. Research at an archive or library was deemed completed when no new major sources were discovered, or where it was felt that further efforts would produce diminishing returns. For instance, the local newspapers were only sampled. No doubt some useful information would turn up if they had been reviewed issue by issue, from their origin in the late-nineteenth century until 1940. However, this could not be completed without a major expenditure of effort, beyond the practicalities of the contract time-frame. It is felt that the majority of critical documentary sources have been found, although it is recognized that the possibility always exists of a missed document. During the course of the archival effort the following facilities were visited at least once and in most cases twice:

Illinois State University, Milner Library, Normal

(computer search of all Illinois University Libraries)

Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri

Cultural resource files of the Environmental/Natural Resources

Office

Bruce C. Clarke Library

U.S. Army Engineer Museum

Pulaski County Court House, Waynesville, Missouri

Kinderhook Regional Library, Waynesville, Missouri Branch

Kinderhook Regional Library, Richland, Missouri Branch

Pulaski County Historical Society, Waynesville, Missouri

Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri

Missouri State Library, Jefferson City, Missouri

Missouri Department of Natural Resources

Division of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (SHPO), Jefferson City, Missouri

Division of Geology and Land Survey, Rolla, Missouri

Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri

Missouri Historical Society Library and Collections, St. Louis, Missouri

Lucy W. James Memorial Library, St. James, Missouri

Western Historical Manuscript Collection,

University of Missouri-Rolla Branch,

University of Missouri-Columbia Branch

Pulaski County Abstract and Title Co., Inc.

Ellis Library, Rare Book Room, University of Missouri, Columbia

KJPW Radio Station, Waynesville, Missouri

Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia

South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia

South Carolina State Library, Columbia

Richland County Library, Columbia, South Carolina

Informant interviews were also conducted of Fort Leonard Wood and Mark Twain National Forest personnel and private citizens with knowledge of the area. The following individuals were formally interviewed about life in the Fort Leonard Wood region: Mr. John Grinstead, Mr. James Black, Mr. Harry Williams, Mr. George W. Lane, Ms. Cindy Wyant, and Mr. Van Beydler. In addition, Dr. Milton Rafferty (geographer, Southwest Missouri State University), Dr. Robert Jacobson (geologist, U.S.G.S., Rolla, Missouri), Mr. Thomas Burge (formerly an archaeologist with the Mark Twain National Forest, now with National Park Service, San Francisco), Daniel Haas (Shawnee National Forest, Illinois), Mrs. Betty Pritchett (local photographer), Mrs. Lorraine Rigsby (President, Pulaski County Historical Society), and

Mr. Maurice Vaughan (resident) were briefly interviewed about possible sources of regional history. This effort only scratched the surface of oral history about the area, a very fruitful source of information.

Phase II

This phase consisted of the analysis of documentary and other data gathered and development of this report. This was first conducted at the Midwestern Archaeological Center, Illinois State University, and then continued at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, as a result of the author moving to South Carolina. Emphasis was placed on completing a regional history and landscapes as specific to the Fort Leonard Wood area as possible in Chapters II through IV. From this work a historic context has been identified as well as hypotheses for future testing in Chapter V.

Phase III

This phase consisted of a limited field exercise and, in an effort to assist an on-going survey project (Baumann and Markman 1993a; Baumann and Markman 1993b), an attempt to place recently discovered historic sites within the site typology devised in Chapter V. The fieldwork was conducted first, to gain a sense of the geography of the region, second, to identify historic sites which represented a cross-section of the types of sites expected within the installation boundaries, and third, to gain a perspective on the physical manifestation of these sites. During data acquisition efforts site visits were conducted at selected historic sites identified by the installation archaeologist, and based on information from concurrent survey fieldwork conducted by Markman & Associates, Inc. These archaeological sites were briefly visited, photographed, and the UTM coordinates were obtained using the Magellan GPS NAV 1000 PRO (TM). This effort was not conducted on a systematic basis. The author toured the installation with the installation archaeologist and a survey team member. No artifacts were collected and no subsurface intrusion was made. A total of seven historic sites were visited as well as touring the installation and areas outside the installation. In addition, site forms for historic sites already discovered at the installation were reviewed for the same purposes discussed above. During the analysis and write-up phase of this project site forms of historic sites discovered during the concurrent survey were also examined by the author to assist the survey effort. The results of this effort, and a brief attempt to place some of the sites into the typology devised herein, are described in Chapter V.

SUMMARY

The historic overview provided in the following chapters is discussed within the framework of a series of changing landscapes which have cultural, chronological and spatial dimensions. It is offered to

direct future research efforts at the installation. The cultural landscapes described in Chapters II through IV identifies a historic context described in Chapter V. It is offered to direct future preservation and management efforts at the installation. It will be seen in this report that the landscape at Fort Leonard Wood changed gradually as Euro-American occupancy increased and the land and its resources diminished. The area maintained a rural character throughout the historic period until the arrival of the U.S. Army.

Obviously, the history of the area is critical to the evaluation of the cultural resources found within the installation. However, since so little has been written about the area, and so little is known, the archaeological sites themselves are, in a very real sense, the history of this region. It is with this in mind that cultural resource managers at Fort Leonard Wood must approach the future preservation of these resources.

CHAPTER II:
INITIAL OCCUPATION AND SETTLEMENT TO 1866

THE PRIMEVAL LANDSCAPE

When in 1813 Josiah Turpin settled just north of what is now Waynesville, Missouri (Goodspeed 1889: 101, 106), thereby becoming the first known permanent American settler in modern Pulaski County, he hardly initiated a land rush into this region of the northern Ozarks. In fact, even as late as 1860, when the boundaries of Pulaski County were, for the most part, set to encompass the 550 square mile area (Wolf 1989: 1) seen today, the census taker counted a population of only 3,835. The reasons that the region was settled relatively late, and never achieved a dense population, include its isolation, poverty of resources (Rafferty 1980: 50; Sauer 1920: 148), and lack of fertile farmland. In other words, the single greatest determinant to settlement was the landscape.

The early pioneers found the Ozark terrain rolling with alternating woodlands prairies (Sauer 1920: 52; Pulaski County Historical Society 1982: Vol. 1, 5; Steyermark 1959: 3; Schultz 1937: 31). The upland woodlands were open, where "there was scarcely a place that could not be driven to with horse and buggy" (Pulaski County Historical Society 1982: Vol. 1, 5). Some of the open prairie areas of the Ozarks west of the Gasconade and White Rivers were almost devoid of trees and resembled savannahs (Schultz 1937: 31; Sauer 1920: 53). "The whole region [Ozarks] in its vegetation was more closely allied to the western prairies than to the timber-covered Appalachians" (Marbut in Ryan 1992: 7). Smaller prairies and woodlands were more characteristic of the hilly Pulaski County area. In the Fort Leonard Wood region, the uplands were described as being "post oak flats" on an early geological map (Figure 2.1). On these small prairies was tall grass called 'bluestem,' and like the prairie grasses of the upper midwest, these too were described by settlers as 'tall as a man's head.' Overall, the upland landscape was more open woodland than today, with the timber more restricted to the hillsides near the bottomlands (Sauer 1920: 52-53). In the bottomlands the timber stand was heavy (Schultz 1937: 18; Pulaski County Historical Society 1982: Vol. 1, 5).

The primeval landscape that Turpin chose to homestead certainly must have been beautiful to him. North of his homestead, the land was rolling and sometimes rough. But south, in southern Pulaski County, the Gasconade River's two tributaries, Roubidoux Creek and Big Piney River cut deep winding paths exposing the limestone and dolomite bedrock and forming steep rugged cliffs. The geologic

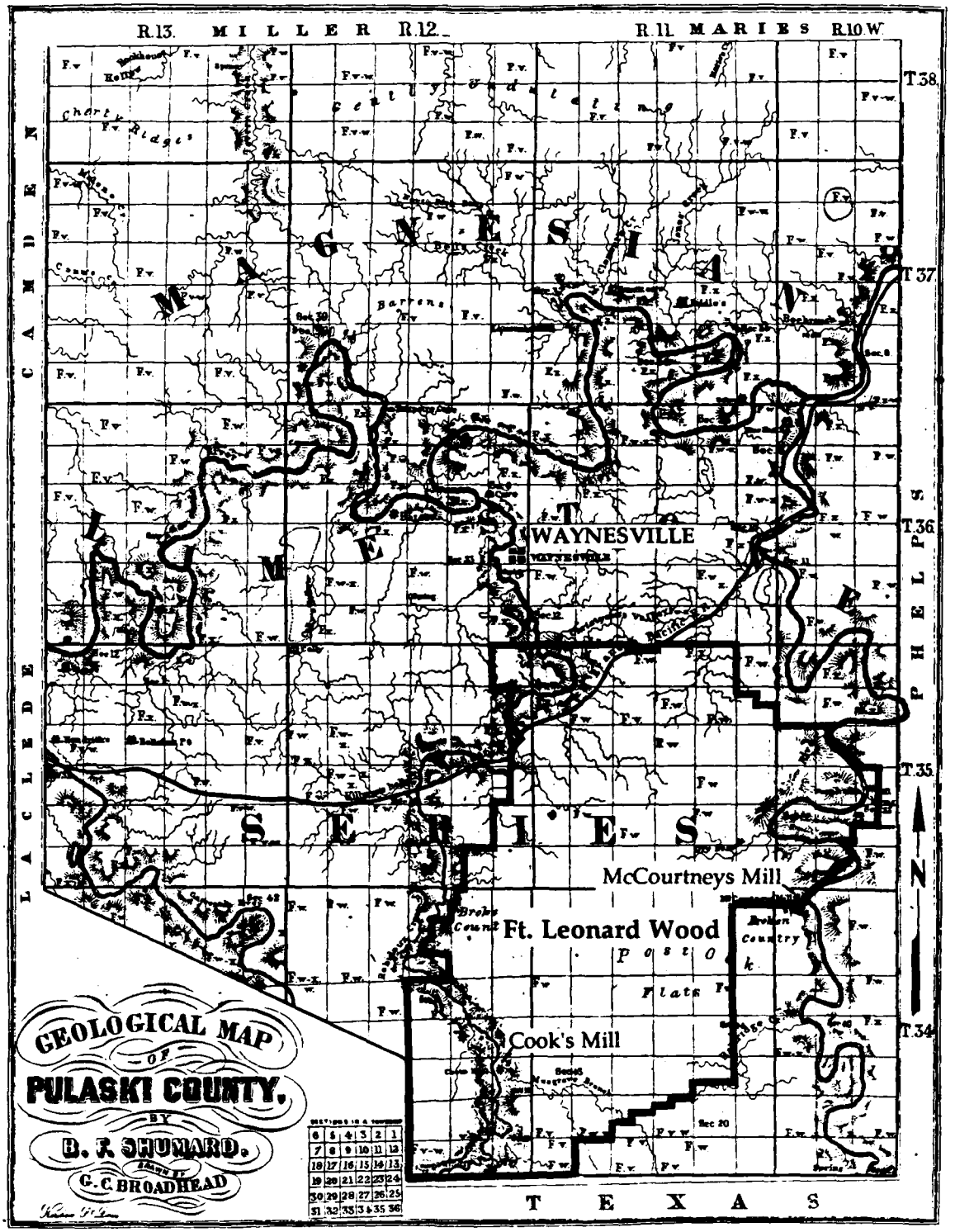


Figure 2.1 Geological Map of Pulaski County, Missouri (Broadhead et al. 1873).

foundation of Pulaski County is the Salem Plateau. This plateau consists primarily of Ordovician dolomites and limestones in the south, with some Pennsylvanian sandstones and clays in northeast Pulaski County (Rafferty 1983: 10; Ryan 1992: 5; Wolf 1989: 71). Throughout this karst topography are numerous sinkholes, solution holes, caves, rock shelters, and springs formed by the action of groundwater dissolving the underlying limestone (Moffat et al. 1989: 7). Pulaski County is known as the "...premier county of Missouri in the number of caves (Bretz 1956: 386). Numerous smaller tributaries flowing into the Roubidoux and Big Piney cut dendritic ravines and small valleys which would come to be called "hollows" by Ozark homesteaders. Up these hollows often were found springs, an important attraction for settlers. In fact, with some exceptions, "...almost no Ozark valley is without abundant spring water" (Sauer 1920: 51).

The region that was to become Fort Leonard Wood, 128 years after Turpin raised his first crop, is an excellent example of the contrasts between the Ozark uplands and the Ozark mountains. On the west side of Fort Leonard Wood is Roubidoux Creek and on the east is Big Piney River. Numerous smaller streams and intermittent creeks wind their way down to these meandering rivers, and create increasingly sharp relief on both the western and eastern portions of the fort. Between these areas is a broad upland prairie, gently rolling and nearly level. Unfortunately, the soils of this prairie are not especially fertile for farming. The underlying bedrock is mostly chert and very stony, as are the overlying loess soils which are two to three feet thick in some areas, but more commonly only one foot or less (Wolf 1989: 71). Further, the fragipans of these thin ridgetop soils restrict root penetration (Ryan 1992: 5). Today, soil scientists classify the soils within the narrow prairie plateau which runs north and south through the center of the installation as poorly drained silty soils of the Lebanon-Plato soil association. Surrounding these soils are the Viraton-Clarksville-Doniphan soils consisting of gentle to steep slopes and are moderately to excessively well drained. These soils contain a high percentage of chert. The two streams, which are well drained, cut steep slopes within the Clarksville-Gepp soils and contain high amounts chert. The flood plain consists of well drained, gently sloping silty Nolin soils (Wolf 1989: map 120). The only fertile land in this region during Turpin's time, as today, is confined to the alluvial bottomlands near rivers and at the very ridgetops of the uplands. An early Missouri gazetteer described the land as being "rough, stony, and unfit for cultivation" (Beck 1823: 233). Today, only 19% of Pulaski County acreage is classified as prime farmland (Wolf 1989: 36).

While this prairie region was undeveloped from Turpin's perspective, it would be inaccurate to state that the area was in a totally natural state. Native Americans had been shaping the landscape long before Turpin's arrival. Most visible was their maintenance of the prairies. In the spring and fall, Native Americans burned the undergrowth to increase grazing for game species (Sauer 1920: 53; Ryan 1992: 8).

Exactly how regularly and how often this happened is subject to debate. Steyermark (1959: 127-128) indicates that it was not an annual ritual. Other researchers note that as the settlers arrived, they carried on an annual tradition of burning for grazing stock (Marbut in Ryan 1992: 9; Sauer 1920: 54). Modern research using dendrochronology provides some quantifiable evidence of Native American and Euro-American burning. Studies indicate that fires in the eighteenth century (when Native Americans were present) were more frequent than in the nineteenth century (Guyette and McGinnes 1982; Guyette and Cutter 1991). Overall it appears that Euro-Americans burned forested areas much less often than Native Americans, and in an episodic manner. Early settlers cleared land through burning much less than the Native Americans and even ceased burning during the Civil War. Farmers of the late-nineteenth century cleared land with fire more often than the early settlers (John Grinstead, personal communication May 18, 1992). Today, burning is practiced in Pulaski County to maintain the open woodlands and savannahs (Kersten 1958: 403; Ryan 1992: 11). Local residents also burn to destroy ticks, keep down the brush, improve hunting, and reduce fire hazards (Malouf 1991: 26-27). For the first settlers like Turpin, the decrease in the frequency of fires beginning in the early-nineteenth century caused a gradual change in the landscape, creating more undergrowth and scrub areas, making travel through the area more difficult.

Henry Schoolcraft journeyed through the Ozarks in 1818, leaving us today a vivid description of the region. Although it does not appear that he passed directly through Pulaski County, one entry in his journal is worth quoting at length. It describes a nearby region, in adjacent Phelps or Texas Counties, but probably much like the Fort Leonard Wood area in topography:

> Sunday, Nov. 15th. This morning, the sky being clear, and the weather pleasant, we left the cave, and resumed our journey toward the southwest. On quitting the cave, our design was to turn immediately from the valley of the creek, but we found the hills so precipitous, that we were compelled to pursue up the valley, in a north-west course, for a considerable distance, before an opportunity for leaving it presented. We now entered on a high, rough, and barren tract of country, consisting of a succession of ridges running at right angles to the course we traveled, so that for the first six miles we were continually climbing up slowly to the tops of these lofty heights, or descending with cautious tread in to the intervening gulfs- an exercise which we found equally hazardous and fatiguing. For this distance the soil was covered thinly with yellow pine, and shrubby oaks, and with so thick a growth of underbrush as to increase, very much, the labour of our traveling. To this succeeded a high-land prairie with little timber, or underbrush, and covered with grass. We found traveling upon it very good, although it occasionally presented considerable elevation, and inequalities of surface... In calling this a high-land prairie, I am to be understood as meaning a tract of high-land generally level, and with

> very little wood or shrubbery. It is a level woodless barren covered with wild grass, and resembling the natural meadows or prairies of the western country in appearance, but lacks their fertility, their wood, and their remarkable quality of surface.... We travelled diligently and silently. Now and then an oak stood in our path; sometimes disturbed the rabbit from its sheltering bush, or were suddenly startled by the flight of a band of quails; but there was nothing to interrupt the silence of our march...The mineralogy of the country was wholly uninteresting,.. its geological character presented great uniformity, the rocks being secondary limestone overlaying sand-stone. ... Distance eighteen miles (Schoolcraft in Park 1955: 43-45).

While the land in this region of the northern Ozarks would not live up to the agricultural expectations of most of those participating in the westward migration during the early-nineteenth century (Bidwell and Falconer 1925: 147), the region did have one resource that shaped the local population's economic aspirations up until the 1930s. This resource was abundant and valuable timber. The bottomlands were covered with thick yellow pine forests, and mixed areas of post oak, blackjack oak, white oak, black oak, and hickory forests in the uplands near the rivers (Parker and Wielanady in Steyermark 1959: 3, 4; Sauer 1920: 56). Also found in abundance were red oak, pin oak, scrub oak, walnut, hackberry, cedar, sycamore, water and sugar maple, cottonwood, butternut, pecan, paw paw, and tulip tree (Schultz 1937: 19; Sauer 1920: 58). Characteristically, in Pulaski County, early settlers found pine in the bottomlands (with some cottonwood, sycamore, sugar and water maple) and a variety of oaks along the margins of the upland prairies.

Early travelers were universal in their admiration of the forests in Laclede, Pulaski, Phelps, and Texas Counties. Beck noted that "On the Gasconade is a quantity of pine timber, which, from its scarcity in this section of the country [Ozarks], is particularly valuable. The yellow pine is predominant, although there is a portion of white" (Beck 1823: 233). Alphonso Wetmore, in another gazetteer, described Pulaski County timber land and stated that, "the kind of timber are good, consisting of oak, linn, sycamore, walnut hackberry, elm, and locust" (Wetmore 1837: 152). Nathan H. Parker wrote in 1865 that "...from fifteen to twenty-five miles up that stream [Piney Fork], reaching to within two and a half miles of the railroad crossing, are millions of acres of yellow pine forests.... Like many other sources of wealth in Missouri, our pine forests still rest in primeval solitude, waiting the hand of intelligent industry and enterprise to develop their wealth..." (Parker in Steyermark 1959: 3). The lumber industry would come early to the northern Ozarks and would be present throughout most of the region's history. However, in Pulaski County, lumbering was not dominated by lumber companies purchasing large tracts to cut and then resale or abandon; rather, the lumber industry here usually consisted of small local companies hiring a few men. Even more often, lumbering was done by individuals cutting the small stands of timber and rafting the logs

to the sawmills for a few, needed, dollars. However, much of the timber they cut was on land owned by the railroad.

The rugged geography, poor soils, forests and prairies, created a number of small ecozones producing "...the most diversified flora, including the greatest number of species, of any part of the state" (Steyermark 1963: xviii). Besides the nut producing trees listed above, Native Americans and early settlers found wild fruits were numerous in the county, including wild cherries, strawberries, service berries, wild grapes, sugar haw, may apples, crab apples, persimmons, gooseberries, and blackberries (Pulaski County Historical Society 1982: Vol. 1, 5; Schultz 1937: 19). Within this varied landscape, settlers found abundant wildlife which provided them with meat and furs. "The native fauna constituted one of the principal attractions of the region to early settlers" (Sauer 1920: 59) and remains an attraction to hunters today. Schultz (1937: 16-17) notes that buffalo and bear became scarce soon after Euro-Americans arrived in the Ozarks. Sauer (1920: 59) includes elk in this list. Deer, beaver, turkey, fox, mink, otter, raccoon, opossum, skunk, rabbit, squirrel, goose, duck, and quail were plentiful throughout the nineteenth century, and rabbit, squirrel, deer, and turkey are still hunted today. Trapping, fishing, and guiding was a common method of employment in the Fort Leonard Wood area well up into the 1950s (James Black and Cindy Wyant, personal communication 1992). Carnivorous animals like wildcats, panthers, and wolves were hunted during the early period, and bounties were paid for wolf hides by the counties in order to eliminate them (Schultz 1937: 17-18).

Numerous species of game birds inhabited the landscape. Schoolcraft (in Park 1955: 36-37), in a discussion of birds in the Ozark region, noted that "...there is an endless variety. The wild turkey is still very common on the bottom lands, and during the heat of the day are found in the open post oak woods. The wild goose, duck , brant, and swan, are to be found on the streams,-the prairie hen is common, so are quails and pigeons." He also lists songbirds, eagles, turkey buzzards, raven and even parakeet(?) (Schoolcraft in Park 1955: 36-37).

The cool, clear streams were populated by fish that "...were the fisherman's dream come true" (Behymer 1941: n.p.). These streams consist of swiftly running water, shallow shoals and deep eddies, over a hard gravel bottom. Sauer (1920: 60) includes bass, trout, "jack salmon (wall-eyed pike)" stone cat, sunfish and "perch." Among the shallow rocks were "hog suckers" and in deeper pools resided catfish, buffalo fish, crappie, short-nosed gar, and eels (Sauer 1920: 60).

The early settlers coming into this region found a climate similar to the land they had left in Tennessee and Kentucky, but perhaps a little less humid (Rafferty 1980: 24). The regional climate is classified as Humid Continental and is quite variable. The average winter temperature is 35 degrees

Fahrenheit and the average summer temperature is 75 degrees Fahrenheit (Rafferty 1980: 25). January is usually the coldest month with winter-like weather starting in December and lasting through February. A few winter days each month the barometer dips below zero, and periods of three or four days of frost without thawing are unusual (Sauer 1920: 30). Precipitation during this time is in the form of cold freezing rains and sleet. Snowfall is variable, averaging about 15.9 inches per year, and snow rarely stays on the ground more than a week (Sauer 1920: 31-32). In contrast, extreme temperatures of over 100 degrees can be expected for a few days during the summer from the end of June through August and possibly into early September. Summers can be somewhat humid, with average relative humidity of 75%. Spring rains are numerous with the summers having quite variable rainfall amounts.The average rainfall in the northern part is about 36 inches, mostly during the spring and summer (Rafferty 1980: 28). The Ozarks are subject to droughts, especially from late June into August. The winds generally are southerly or southeasterly, but in the winter occasional cold winds blow in from the north. The summer brings a hot wind from the southwest that is known to destroy crops (Rafferty 1980: 26). "On the whole the region is one of abundant sunshine, especially in the fall, and of moderately high evaporation" (Sauer 1920: 31).

Thus, the primeval landscape in and around southern Pulaski County was made for the hunter and gatherer, and the lumberman, if not the agriculturalist. This is probably one of the more significant reasons that the frontier population did not settle here in great numbers as seen elsewhere in Missouri. The rough country meant isolation and slow development. There would be difficulty in getting cash crops to markets once farmers arrived and the landscape directly affected settlement, industry, and development as the white man entered the area.

EXPLORATION AND INITIAL OCCUPATION TO 1833

By the time Josiah Turpin was ploughing the Roubidoux Creek bottomlands, the Native American population in the Ozarks already had been decimated. The region in and around Pulaski County primarily had been the hunting grounds of the Osage during the eighteenth-century, but later the Kickapoo, Delaware, Shawnee, and Cherokee were pushed through the region as Euro-Americans moved west. The Ozarks became one of the first "dumping grounds" for tribes displaced from the East (Rafferty 1980: 33). By 1808 the Osage had given up their claims to the Ozark Plateau, including the Pulaski County area (Parrish et al. 1980: 15; Rafferty 1980: 35). However, they believed that this arrangement did not include their right to hunt in the region and small hunting parties could still be seen in the area. By 1816, only three years after Turpin's arrival, the completion of the 1808 cession line had "effectively removed that large and powerful tribe from all but the westernmost portions of present-day Missouri" (Foley 1989: 248). Fragments of eastern tribes continued to move through the area as increased pressure from whites pushed them farther and

farther west. Native American occupation within present-day Missouri effectively ended by 1830 (Foley 1989: 248; Anon. 1988: 18). The last time early setters saw Native Americans in Pulaski County was in 1837, when the national government channelled the remnants of the Cherokee Nation along the old Springfield Road in a tragic saga later to be known as the Trail of Tears.

The French were the first Europeans to explore the Ozarks. Many explorers, hunters, and fur traders probably ranged through the Pulaski County region during the eighteenth century (Foley 1989: 18) but their names, history, and their effect on the landscape has long since disappeared. The first recorded explorer into the county was Claude-Charles Dutisné who passed through Pulaski County in 1719. Dutisné's mission was to negotiate alliances with Plains Indians and to seek precious metals (Foley 1989: 18). After being stopped from continuing west along the Missouri River by the Missouri Indians, he returned to Kaskaskia, Illinois and attempted to reach the plains via a more southern route. This route began at the mouth of the Saline River, and "...the group took a compass course straight west, probably on the advice of coureurs-de-bois who had previously visited the Osage village. There was not yet 'a beaten road' to the Osages as recorded twenty years later" (Wedel 1973: 147). His compass course would have taken him directly through Pulaski County. Exactly what route he used is not known. However, it is reasonable that Dutisné followed Indian trails whenever possible, and he probably used a trail (Schultz 1937: 31, calls it an animal path) that would much later become the Old Springfield Road, or the Old Wire Road, in the nineteenth century. If so, Dutisné was the first white to forge the path that would become the main transportation route through Pulaski County, a route famous in both Missouri and national history. From the Old Springfield Road, this route became Route 66, and today, Interstate 44. This route passes only a mile or two north of Fort Leonard Wood. Dutisné described the Ozarks as "...many mountains of rock, covered with oak groves" (Wedel 1973: 148). After Dutisné, there were undoubtedly other explorers and hunters in this region, but settlement would not begin for almost one hundred years later.

On a continental scale, concentrated American settlement did not reach the Illinois-Ohio River Valley until 1800 (Rafferty 1980: 44). Early hunters coming into the Ozarks began their expeditions from the sparsely occupied French lead mining settlements like Old Mines (1725), Bonne Terre (1724), Mine La Motte (1723), and Mine a Breton (1770) which were located east of Pulaski County in parts of what are now Washington, Francois, and Madison Counties (Rafferty 1980: 41). Besides lead mining, the French engaged in salt making, some farming, and fur trading. The latter activity no doubt brought them to the Gasconade River and its tributaries. The French also moved along the Missouri River north of the Ozarks, building Fort Orleans as early as 1722 (Rafferty 1980: 43). The eighteenth century saw increasing numbers of Europeans and Euro-Americans traveling through the Ozarks. Some must have used the trail that Dutisné travelled.

Euro-American settlement of the Ozarks effectively began around the turn of the nineteenth century. By 1806, "...the van of the westward movement had reached the Gasconade and Osage Rivers" (Schultz 1937: 41). Settlement in the Ozarks between 1804 and 1814 was very slow. (Settlement in southern Pulaski County throughout its history would never be characterized as rapid or intense.) Besides Josiah Turpin, historians record no others settling in the Pulaski County region until 1814 when three men, Johnson, Cullen, and Dulle, made what Schultz (1937: 42) calls the "first permanent settlement in modern Pulaski County." This settlement was located in the Gasconade Valley, five miles west of present-day Waynesville (Goodspeed 1889: 97). The three men and their families made saltpeter from the nitrates found in the numerous caves in the area which they traded or sold to trappers and hunters who "...frequented the region" (Goodspeed 1889: 101). In 1817, Johnson and Dulle moved to Barlett's Spring and built a mill; Cullen disappeared one day transporting a wagon of saltpeter (Goodspeed 1889: 102). Also in 1817, John Turpin from Kentucky, and Henry Anderson, W. Gillaspy (or Gillespie, vide Turpin n.d.: iii), and Jesse Ballew arrived from North Carolina (Will 1968: 6). They apparently settled along the Gasconade River some twelve miles southwest of Waynesville (Ensminger 1934: 2).

There were obviously other people working and settling in the area during this period. In 1819 for instance, Schoolcraft met a hunter named Roberts and his wife in a cabin a short distance beyond the Fourche a Courtois, a tributary of the Meramec River, east of Pulaski County. This hunter joined Schoolcraft for a few days before he became separated from Schoolcraft's party while chasing deer. Later, Schoolcraft found out that the hunter eventually found his way, arriving at some saw mills which already were in operation along the Gasconade River (Schoolcraft in Park 1955: 42). This account perfectly describes the types of people who were the first to arrive in this region of the northern Ozarks, lumberman and subsistence settlers who mostly hunted, trapped, and also farmed a little.

The early hunters, of which Roberts is an example, found these hilly, rough areas of the Ozarks, exactly to their liking. Fertile soils were not a determining factor for their settlement, but game was. These people were overwhelmingly from southeastern states, especially Tennessee and Kentucky, which are close to the same latitude as the Ozarks (Rafferty 1980: 50). The lack of authority, political organization, and society, all characteristic of the isolated frontier region around Pulaski County at this time, were also strong attractions to these southern upland, highly independent pioneers. These almost semi-nomadic people had little regard for their current habitation (Sauer 1920: 151), which they would quickly abandon when the game became scarce. Around their cabins they would raise a few acres of corn, but hunting and gathering was the central means of subsistence. Eventually, these people might settle down and take up farming more intensely, but in the hilly regions of the Ozarks, like the area around Fort Leonard Wood, the abundant hunting resources would not force them to become farmers until much later in Missouri's history

(Sauer 1920: 151-152). Their influence on the culture and character of the Ozarks was profound and lasting. Today their attitudes, lifestyles, and ideology are still prominent and define Ozark culture.

Lumbermen came as early as the hunters to the Gasconade and Big Piney valleys. Daniel Morgan Boone and Joe Roubidoux, for whom Roubidoux Creek is named, saw great promise in the timber they found along the Big Piney during an expedition to the area around 1810 (Bradford 1985: 53). Boone returned in 1816 with his friends Sylvester and James Pattie, and shortly afterward Sylvester built a mill forty miles upstream from the mouth of the Big Piney (Batman 1984: 35). In 1820, Boone built a mill near Pattie's and for a short time before they moved away, both were neighbors. Today, Paddy Creek and Boone Creek are about the only modern references serving to remind us of these early pioneers (Batman 1984: 38). Around the Huston area of Texas County, Arthur lists Burhart's Mill, Cork's Mill, Truedale's Mill (seven miles north of Huston), and Baldridge's Mill (six miles south of Truedale's) all operating around 1826 (Arthur 1940: 2). Arthur also notes that a man named Pettit operated a mill on the Big Piney around 1820, but Pettit could actually be Pattie (Arthur 1940: 2). On the Gasconade, Beck reports that by 1823 there were already six saw mills cutting pine timber (Beck 1823: 233). By the time many of the earliest squatters came to Pulaski County, sections of the bottomland pine woods were disappearing and the landscape was already changing.

Among the early Pulaski County squatters (people who settled on public land in order to gain title) Goodspeed lists the Bradfords, Buckharts, Bakers, Bowls, Bentons, Britons, Ballews, Buchards, Bryants, Bells, Canes, Clarks, Davises, Dodds, Givens, Gibsons, Gillaspys, Hightours, Hays, Millers, Stuarts, Starks, Skaggs, Turpins, and Willams--many of whom had come to work at the lead mines east of Pulaski County and later moved west to settle (Goodspeed 1889: 106). Exactly when the people listed above arrived is not mentioned, but they probably entered the area between 1813 and 1835. Adding to this was the Christensons who arrived in 1829, a name, like Turpin, that would survive up until the arrival of the army in 1941 (Goodspeed 1889: 774). Turpin's list of settlers prior to 1840 also includes Issac N. Davis, John, Thomas, and Pleasant Wayman, and "the Hensons" (Turpin n.d.: iii). By 1828, Gasconade County resident's tax list (which at that time included all of modern Pulaski County and a large area surrounding it), counted 353 male inhabitants between 21 and 65, 101 slaves, 794 horses, and 1,669 cattle (Goodspeed 1889: 102). With the early settlers came the need to mill their corn, and the earliest grain mill in the area of Fort Leonard Wood may be one built around 1826 on Roubidoux Creek, within the present boundaries of Waynesville and near the old Fort Wood Theater (Mottaz 1960: 2; Taylor 1990: 40).

It is impossible for us today to completely understand how isolated these very first families were, being on the very fringe of a frontier and in a region that was rough and difficult to traverse. They were entirely self-reliant for their daily needs, the closest large town being St. Louis, some 120 miles away as

the crow flies, and with a population around 5,000 in 1821 (Rafferty 1983: 150). For supplies, the Missouri River settlements, 55 miles to the north of the Big Piney and Roubidoux Creek area, would have been a little closer. The early hunters and squatters in Pulaski County could follow the Gasconade River to the village of Gasconade at the confluence of the Missouri and Gasconade Rivers. Also, there were some small lead mining operations as close as 35 miles to the east by 1826 (Rafferty 1980: 47). However, in 1819 Schoolcraft described Potosi (Miné la Barton) as being "...the last village of white inhabitants, between the Mississippi river and the Pacific Ocean" (Schoolcraft in Park 1955: 21), and it was some 75 miles away from the Fort Leonard Wood region.

Though the Ozarks were rough and thus by-passed by most pioneers pushing west, the rest of Missouri experienced an explosion of settlers crossing the Ohio, emanating from the St. Louis area, and spreading up the Missouri River. A St. Louis newspaper listed as many as thirty to fifty wagons a day were crossing the Mississippi in 1819 (Parrish et al. 1980: 45). After the Spanish and the French, Missouri was obtained by the United States in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. It was organized as a first class territory in 1805 and it became the Missouri Territory in 1812 (Parrish et al. 1980: 37; Switzler 1879: 164, 187). At that time Missouri already had a population of around 10,000 clustered near St. Louis and New Madrid and by 1820 the population was as high as 67,000 (Parrish et al. 1980: 41).

The river routes were the main transportation corridors for this influx of settlers. Except for the 1723 mining operations around Mine La Motte, the earliest French settlement in the Missouri Territory spread west from the Ste. Genevieve region, founded around 1735 (Rafferty 1980: 41-42). Now, at the turn of the nineteenth century, American settlements were spreading up the Missouri where fertile land was available. The southern route around and into the Ozarks included the White and Arkansas Rivers. But the spread into the interior of the northern Ozarks was much slower, the landscape proving to be a barrier to rapid development (Rafferty 1980: 50). "Settlement had penetrated nearly every fertile valley in the St. Francis Mountains to the margins of the Courtois Hills by 1810 [both east of Pulaski County]. This region [interior Ozarks] of scanty resources served as a barrier that deflected immigration north and south. Only after the border regions of the Ozarks were well settled did immigrants begin to enter the interior" (Rafferty 1980: 50).

With the population increasing in Missouri, authorities were feeling the pressure and need for political organization. While still a territory, the region that is now Pulaski County changed from one county jurisdiction to another at a rapid pace, and these changes caused a great deal of confusion, even among historians. For instance, the Pulaski County region was organized within St. Louis County in 1812, within Washington County in 1816, and within Franklin County in 1819 (Goodspeed 1889: 112; Mottaz 1960: 5; Schultz 1982: 61, 62). However, Foley (1989: 262) and Parrish et al. (1980: 49) disagree

with these dates stating that it was within Ste. Genevieve around 1812. Further, Foley places the Pulaski County region within St. Louis County in 1816 (Foley 1989: 262). The reason for this confusion is at least partly due to the fact that, as illustrated by Thorndale and Dollarhide (1987: 191), "The western portion of the St. Louis-Ste. Genevieve line is obscure" trailing off as a dotted line around modern Gasconade County on their 1810 map. Probably the region beyond Gasconade was poorly known and unsurveyed at that time. In any case, all sources agree after that date. When Missouri became a state in 1821, the region that would be Pulaski County was part of a large tract of land within the boundaries of Gasconade County (Schultz 1982: 62). For a brief period from 1829 to 1833, this land was within Crawford County, and then it became a part of a large area that was organized as Pulaski County (Goodspeed 1889: 112; Schultz 1982: 63). Incidentally, some references state that Pulaski County was formed in 1818 or 1816. However, that particular county was formed by territorial legislature and is within the present boundaries of Arkansas (vide Schultz 1937: 62.)

These early boundary changes probably had little effect on the original Euro-American inhabitants of the Fort Leonard Wood area. As stated earlier, there were only 353 male inhabitants noted on the Gasconade County residents tax list in 1828, and only a total population for the county of 1,548 in 1830 (Goodspeed 1889: 102; Switzler 1879: 493). This number was especially small when considering that Gasconade County in 1820 included a region that now contains the counties of Osage, Maries, Phelps, Pulaski, Laclede, Dallas, Polk, Hickory, Cedar, Vernon, and parts of Crawford, Dent, Texas, Miller, Camden, Benton, St. Clair, Bates, Barton, Dade, Webster, and Wright (Schultz 1937: 55). This sparse settlement would remain characteristic of the area long after other parts of Missouri were thickly settled. For instance, the U.S. Census recorded only 55 wooden buildings in Pulaski County in 1840, (no brick). As late as 1850, there were only 630 dwelling and 642 families in the entire county (U.S. Census 1840, 1850). This data suggests only a handful of people were actually living in the Pulaski County area, and of those, even fewer were within the Fort Leonard Wood area. Eventually enough homesteaders were in the region of the Big Piney River and Roubidoux Creek to begin wanting the amenities of political organization including forming a county with a county seat closer at hand.

EARLY PULASKI COUNTY: 1833 TO 1860

Pulaski County was organized in 1833 and included parts of Dallas, Webster, Texas, Phelps, Maries, Miller, and Camden Counties and all of Laclede, Wright, and modern Pulaski County (Goodspeed 1889: 112; Mottaz 1960: 5). The modern boundaries of Pulaski County would, except for a small portion, finally be set in 1857 with the formation of Phelps County (Rafferty 1982: 45). The townships for Pulaski County included Cullen, Tavern, Wilson, Liberty, Osage, Piney, and Gasconade (Goodspeed 1889:

114). The modern township boundaries of Cullen, Roubidoux, and Piney, which contain Fort Leonard Wood, were not set until sometime after 1869 (Goodspeed 1889: 114-115). Although settlers began to register land on records as early as 1835, it would not be until 1844 or 1845 that Township 35, Range 11, the center of Fort Leonard Wood, was sectioned by a surveyor named George, according to the county history by Goodspeed (1889: 106). Researcher Cindy Wyant, however, states that the General Land Office contracted William H. Ashley to survey the exterior boundaries of Township 35, Range 11 as early as 1821, and that a subcontract to Joel Campbell was drawn to finish the lines in 1822 (Wyant 1992: 7). According to Wyant, Goodspeed's man named George was Presley S. George, who did not survey all of Pulaski County, but rather only Township 35 N, Range 12 W, and Township 36 N, Range 12 W.

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, this region of the Ozarks was slowly taking shape politically. Several attempts were made by the local founding fathers to take on the trappings of an organized body of citizenry. The first meeting of the County Court was held at the home of Jesse Ballew on March 4, 1833, where they designated the home of Green Williams, along Bear Creek, the temporary seat of justice (Goodspeed 1889: 123; Schultz 1937: 62). In 1835, the county seat was moved to the home of James Bates on the Roubidoux, and later it was moved again to the home of William Moore (Mottaz 1960: 6). The early founders recognized that for the county to develop, a permanent seat of government was needed.

The county seat was established in 1833 within the only cluster of buildings that could possibly be considered a village. This location was near a spring where an old Indian trail crossed the Roubidoux, called the Kickapoo Trace (Writer's Program 1941: 417). A man named G.W. Gibson had settled there between 1831 and 1832 (Goodspeed 1889: 147; Turpin n.d.: v). As stated earlier, a mill was probably established there as early as 1826. Shortly thereafter a blacksmith shop was in operation and in 1834 the village of Waynesville was laid out (Moser 1973: 10). That same year a post office was established by Robert B. Hammon (Pulaski County Historical Society 1982: Vol 2, 31; Schultz 1982: 55). The mail route followed the road to St. Louis (Goodspeed 1889: 109). The following year James Bates built a store. Other pioneers, already homesteading in the region moved into Waynesville, including William Moore and E.J. Christenson (Moser 1973: 10) and by 1840 the first courthouse was built (Goodspeed 1889: 114). In 1843, the state legislature passed an act recognizing Waynesville as the official county seat (Mottaz 1960: 7). In that same year a brick courthouse was built, 40 by 28 feet, 22 feet high, with three rooms, two halls and two outside doors (Goodspeed 1889: 115). As this was probably one of the very few large brick structures in the county at that time, an 1855 court order allowed the courthouse to be used for "...exercise of religious worship, at any time when there are no legal proceedings in progress in said house, to all denominations who believe in the doctrine set forth in the holy scriptures," but "...a ball or dancing party, or exhibitory show,...shall pay...$2.50 in advance" (Goodspeed 1889: 115-116).

Population and Settlement

From 1833 until the Civil War, the landscape continued to change as permanent settlers arrived from the eastern states. But again, this change was much more gradual than elsewhere in Missouri and the rest of the midwest. Population statistics are only moderately useful in examining how the population in the Fort Leonard Wood region grew between 1840 and 1860, because the county boundaries continued to narrow until 1857 (Table 2.1). While the county statistics indicate a decline, this was a result of the county boundaries contracting and actually the population was increasing in this region. Travelers along the river valleys or Old Springfield Road during this period would see an occasional cabin, or a trail leading off to a homestead in the wooded hollows. Only in Waynesville could there be found more than four or five buildings standing together.

In the Fort Leonard Wood region, a few settlers were known to have arrived since the initial influx of squatters prior to county organization. Along the Big Piney River were found the homesteads of W.S. Helms, Stewarts and McDonald Macklin (Goodspeed 1880: 106). Turpin's list also includes the Amon, Felix, and Lovel Deer families (Turpin n.d.: iii). Along Roubidoux Creek were the McIlroys (or McElroy vide Turpin n.d.: iii), Maxeys, Hays, Morgans, Nelsons, and Tilleys (Goodspeed 1889: 106).

TABLE 2.1 POPULATION FIGURES FOR PULASKI COUNTY: 1840 TO 1860*

DATE	WHITE	BLACK(S)	BLACK(F)	TOTAL
1840	6,338	191	1*	6,529
1850	3,885	113	-	3,998
1860	3,779	56	-	3,835

* Pulaski County established 1833, included parts of modern Dallas, Webster, Texas, Phelps, Maries, Miller, Camden, and all of Laclede, Wright, and Pulaski Counties in 1840 (Mottaz 1960: 5: Rafferty 1982: 45). The single free black was a female under ten.

Nelson family (Turpin n.d.: iii). Other early settlers in the area before 1840 include Cyrus Colley, George Saltsman, J. Meyers, and the Stanleys, Howards, Humphres, Honsingers, and Newmans (Turpin n.d.: iii). Goodspeed lists eight additional families and provides their location by section, township and range (Table 2.2). This table is not all inclusive of the settlers in the area. It is interesting to note a group of five families in Sections five and six, probably located in and around McCourtney's hollow.

Two homestead acts in the mid-nineteenth century were initiated to assist the settlement of Missouri. One was the Preemption Act of 1841, which provided that a squatter could purchase 160 acres of land at a minimum price of approximately $1.25 per acre, if he could provide evidence of cultivation (Schultz 1937: 46). The other was the Graduation Act of 1854. This act reduced the price of slow-selling public land to a progressively cheaper price beginning at $1.00 per acre and after ten years without being claimed, to as little as 12.5 cents for land unclaimed after 30 years. According to Schultz, "... it accomplished its purpose very well, for not only the poorer land but also thousands of acres of totally worthless stony hills were sold at the reduced rate" (Schultz 1937: 47). Of the two, the latter probably had the greater influence on settlement in the Fort Leonard Wood region.

TABLE 2.2
SOME EARLY SETTLERS IN THE FORT LEONARD WOOD REGION (GOODSPEED 1889: 109-111)

NAME	DATE	LOCATION
Washington Smith	1833	Sec. 6, T34, R10
Washington Himes	1833	Sec. 6, T34, R10
H. Stewart	1834	Sec. 20, T35, R10
Rowley Williams	1835	Sec 3, T34, R12
Richard Mathews	1837	Sec. 30, T35, R10
Alex. McCourtney*	1838	Sec 5, T34, R10
W. R. McCourtney*	1837	Sec. 5, T34, R10
Andrew Hamilton	1838	Sec. 6, T34, R10

*McCourtney's mill along the Big Piney is shown in Figure 2.1.

As cabins and farms began to appear more frequently in Pulaski County, a noticeable settlement pattern began to take shape across the landscape, consisting of detached farmsteads and small hamlets along rivers and creeks (Rafferty 1980: 48). Within the Ozarks highlands, "Generally settlement began with the valley lands, then the prairie margins were occupied, and later the open prairies, whereas most of the hillsides remain unimproved to this day" (Sauer 1920: 156). Focusing closer to the Fort Leonard Wood region, "Between 1829 and 1840 there were no settlements outside of the valleys....After 1840 there was an occasional settler on the uplands, but the settlement continued to be sparse up to [Civil] war times, and centered more or less toward Waynesville, as the only town in the county" (Goodspeed 1889: 106,111). Within the valleys land wasn't worth settling unless it had a spring nearby. Settlers built their farmsteads "...well up on the valley sides" (Sauer 1920: 156). Out in the river valleys, where the land was marginally fertile, their small tracts of crops were grown. Sauer also mentions that in the northwest corner of Pulaski

County, the smaller prairies were entered early, or prior to 1840 (Sauer 1920: 157). However, he states that the location of settlement did not depend so much on woodland or prairie settings as the grade of the soils (Sauer 1929: 157).

Pioneer Agriculture

The people who eventually chose to settle in the rough hills and valleys of Pulaski County did so because it was familiar to them. These early pioneers were in overwhelming majority from Tennessee, the Piedmont areas of North and South Carolina, Kentucky, and other upland regions in Virginia (Hudson 1988: 400; Pulaski County Historical Society 1982: Vol. 1, 18; Rafferty 1980: 50; Sauer 1920: 159). The main route of migration into the area flowed directly from the Piedmont of North and South Carolina through the Nashville basin of Tennessee and into southern Missouri (Hudson 1988: 400).

These hardy and predominantly Scotch-Irish people were subsistence farmers in the true sense of the word. Nearly everything they made and ate was the result of their own labor and few household purchases were made. The primary crop was corn. Other staples grown or gathered included corn, tobacco, rye, flax, maple sugar, sorghum, beeswax, honey, barley, buckwheat, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, peas , beans, wool, and cotton were grown or gathered (Schultz 1937: 119). Hogs and some cattle provided meat. Fruit was scarce (Schultz 1937: 120). The predominance of subsistence agriculture as a way of life was indicated in the 1840 Census of Pulaski County. From a total population of 6,529 men, women and children, 2,065 were employed in agriculture, 111 in manufacturing and trades, and all other occupations were less than 100 (United States Census 1840). Tables 2.3 and 2.4 provide an overview of agricultural production in Pulaski County. The table does not include all the agricultural products grown but rather those in greatest production. While it is difficult to analyze the rate of growth with these tables because the borders of Pulaski County continued to shrink during this time, the table does provide a measure of what the region of Pulaski County was producing during 1860 in comparison to surrounding regions during the mid-nineteenth century. As might be expected, corn and swine were the two main staples of the Ozark pioneers.

The corn and cotton fields in the river valleys and hollows were not like those seen today. The pioneer farmer cleared small patches of ground by deadening, a technique borrowed from Native Americans. Tree trunks were cut all the way around the tree and then was left to die or forced to die by using lye soap (Otto and Burns 1981: 172-174). Corn was left in the fields until the first frost, when it could be easily broken from the stock. Then it was picked as needed for the family, the horses, and the hogs (Otto and Burns 1981: 175). When the patches became unproductive, the cattle would be allowed to graze on it and a

TABLE 2.3

ANIMAL PRODUCTION

FOR PULASKI COUNTY:* 1840-1860

Year	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Swine
1840	3,785*		10,513*		6,600	25,131
1850	2,124	1,141	1,886	3,547	5,034	15,030
1860	1,122	792	990	1,971	2,977	7,428

* Modern county borders set in 1957. In 1840 horses included mules (mules in 1850 numbered only 181 and 106 in 1860). Cows in 1840 included milch cows, oxen and cattle (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1840, 1850, 1850).

TABLE 2.4

CROP PRODUCTION FOR

PULASKI COUNTY:* 1840-1860

Year	Wool	Wheat	Corn	Oats	Sweet P.	Tobacco	Flax
1840	10,672	18,680	385,860	23,143	11,622	19,091	55
1850	11,894	11,352	246,430	32,828	8,821	4,780	7,545
1860	5,634	7,396	205,205	7,687	698	2,600	414

*Pulaski County modern borders set in 1957. Wool and tobacco are in lbs., all others are measured in bushels (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1840, 1850, 1860).

new patch was cleared. Higher up in the hollows the farmers would plant potatoes and sorghum. Because of the Ozarks' isolation, many pioneer cottage industries continued throughout the nineteenth century. Growing and spinning cotton for clothing, and the use of home-made farm equipment continued to be seen here long after they had died out in other regions of Missouri (Sauer 1920: 162).

Animals were easy to raise in this country, where good farmland was rare. Hogs, cattle, sheep, and horses roamed in the woods and fields. The hogs fed on the abundant mast in the woods, and the cattle and sheep grazed on the prairie and woodland grasses. Horses were watched a little more closely than the pigs and cattle. Oxen were used during these early years for cultivating the fields, which were sometimes fenced against animals. The animals were usually earmarked and sometimes branded. Stock raising, in fact, became one of the more profitable agricultural pursuits in the Ozarks and in the Pulaski County region. Cattle raising was the "most profitable occupation" in the late-nineteenth century (Sauer 1920: 160). It would remain so among the successful farmers up until the arrival of the U.S. Army (Sauer 1920: 160). According to Sauer (1920: 161), the stock were not necessarily high quality, due to the open

range method of raising them. Goodspeed disagrees (1889: 98) stating that the cattle, mules, and hogs were of fine grade because the rugged hills kept them in excellent condition. Perhaps these discrepancies can be explained as a result of different time frames. Goodspeed was describing the early and late-nineteenth century landscape, which was a relatively prosperous period in the history of Pulaski County agriculture. Sauer was describing the poor conditions prevalent in the early-twentieth century as a result of over use, and which was a time when agriculture was beginning to enter a period of ruin. Unforeseen by these early farmers, the valuable bluestem grasses of the prairies would be over-grazed, making cattle raising more difficult.

Excerpts from a letter written by early residents Hiram and Sarah Welch, to their relatives in Illinois, testify to the harsh frontier life in the Pulaski County region (original spelling maintained):

> December 20, 1839
> Dear Brothers and Sisters
>
> I take this opertunity to let you now that we are well at this time hoping these lines find you in the same health....We was jest two weaks from the time we left illinois tell we go to James Haney. We found him & family all with the agar. every one of them had it. tha [?] took it in august, he was much dissatisfid & he sold out to move back but he took a notion to tri it a little longer. I was goin to come with him. He has moved a bout 18 miles furder & tha say his timber is scase. He is in a prarie holler....James Haney sed that tha was more than two thirds of the papel her was sick this fall. Ther is a heap of sickness her. I am living on a place belongs to old John Wisdom. I shell sta her & mak a crop, ther is about [illegible] acres fenced & turned. I git it for doing some work on the place....
>
> I shall not parswade no boddy to move here. When ther is land it is good range and tolerbel plenty of game. I have cild three deer and a good miney turkeys. Timber is skace her, black post oke is the groath mostly som white jack oke and black oke but timber is scace. rocks a plenty. James Ewton lives about ten miles from me on the river gasknad. I live in a prararie holler My nearest nebour is about two miles on the other side about ate miles. It is on the hardys place I ever seen. Pork is worth from four to five dollars corn is from twenty to thirty cents per bushel wheat is from fifty to seventy five cents per bushel. Tha have bin three or four snows and is now a sleeting. One snow was about ten inches deep. It has been very diagreebel winter so fur. While I was riting tha fell a

snow about ate inches deep... Thar ar places here to settel som very good ones if a boddy could have ther helth (Welsh Family Letters, 1839).

Lumbering and Other Occupations

Besides subsistence farming, and those trades necessary to a frontier existence like blacksmithing, store keeping, and public officials, the only other livelihood in the Pulaski County area was lumber and milling. The 1840 census notes that there were two individuals in mining, 24 in commerce, 111 in manufacturing, 23 in navigation of canals, lakes, and rivers, and 18 listed as in the learned professions and engineers (U.S. Census 1840). Many of those counted among the manufacturers were millers. The Census of Manufacturers list 22 grist and flour mills in Pulaski County in 1840 (remember that this included a very large area, see above) (U.S. Census of Manufacturers 1840). Farming or some form of related labor was clearly the most common type of occupation in the Fort Leonard Wood region. For instance, those listed as canal workers obviously were living in and around the Missouri and Gasconade Rivers, to the north of Fort Leonard Wood. Characteristic of frontier areas, most people pursued several methods of making a living. Although many of the farmers were also millers, blacksmiths, and storekeepers in the region, farming was nevertheless the predominant occupation. Lumbering was the only other major occupation, with 15 saw mills in the county. Even then, lumbering was not a full time occupation but rather was pursued to supplement household incomes on a seasonal basis. The case of Dr. David Waldo illustrates the diversified character of the frontier economy. Dr. Waldo was a practicing physician, postmaster, major in the militia, clerk of circuit court, ex-officio recorder of deeds, clerk of the county court, justice of the peace, deputy sheriff, and acting coroner for Gasconade County in the antebellum period (Schultz 1937: 132). Being an enterprising sort, in 1826 he cut and hauled timber until he had enough to build a raft, which he then floated down the Gasconade to St. Louis. In St. Louis, he sold the lumber for $500.00 which he used to attend medical lectures at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky which was the extent of his professional training (Schultz 1937: 132). Dr. Waldo is an example of the frontier entrepreneur, and while he may have been more active than most, his versatility is probably typical of the people and the period.

For those engaged in lumbering in the Pulaski County area, transporting the product to the saw mills or buyers presented a problem. The rivers provided a convenient and practical method of transport. The river trades also promoted a way of life and folklore folklore reminiscent of the flatboat men along the Ohio. Trees were cut and logs were transported to a mill that would rough-out the logs (roughly shape them into ties), or they would be roughed-out in the woods when cut. The logs were then tied together into rafts and floated down river. Maneuvering the logs around the twisting bends of the Big Piney, Roubidoux, and Little Piney Rivers was quite a challenge and accomplished using poles to push and grapevines as ropes to pull. When and if they reached St. Louis, the men sold the timber and walked home. Rafting was a

dangerous occupation, and the rafters became famous for their daring and risk taking. Along with this hard life, of course, came hard living with fighting and drinking as part of their legendary lifestyle (Arthur 1940). During the antebellum period, lumber was used for a variety of needs. Following the war, with the railroads insatiable appetite for ties, tie-hacking (cutting and shaping ties from trees) and rafting became the essence of local folklore. For the young men of Pulaski County, this lifestyle undoubtedly looked more exciting and rewarding than eking out a living on a marginally productive farm. While the heydays of tie-hacking occurred in the late-nineteenth century in the Pulaski County area, along the Gasconade the timber was cut early with a devastating effect on the landscape. "So much [timber- white and yellow pine] was brought out of the [Gasconade] valley that it was exhausted by the 1850s" (Douthit et al. 1979: 141).

The isolation of the area was not only suited to frontier Tennesseans who were seasoned to the subsistence hunting and farming lifestyle, but also to those "desperadoes and outlaws" who chose a life outside the law (Vincent 1913: 138). The regional folklore and history of the northern Ozarks is full of stories about outlaws, bandits, and during the Civil War, bushwackers. Even today, informants note it is not uncommon to find people on the fringe of society, the homeless, or criminals, hiding in the caves around Pulaski County (James Black, personal communication May 12, 1992). One of the great regional legends of the antebellum period concerns a band of counterfeiters, the "Bank of Niangua." Like all legends, the facts are difficult to discern from the lore. However, legend has it a group of counterfeiters opened shop in the caves north of Waynesville as early as 1832 or 1833 (Vincent 1913: 139-140; King 1983: 15). This group consisted of four men, named Spencer, Quillen, Garland, and Tellis, and a woman named Stennett or Stinson. The group was caught. Quillen and Garland were imprisoned. But this did not stop the presses; in fact, it only made the others engaged in that sort of chicanery angry. Soon another band of murderers, robbers, and counterfeiters, lead by John Avy, were operating in the region (Vincent 1913: 139; King 1983: 15). Eventually, local citizens, tired of the violence, formed a vigilante group, called "Slickers," and began the Slicker War which continued for several years (Vincent 1913: 142). The war ended when a popular young man of the region was murdered by Avy's gang, and it appeared to the Slickers that the local sheriff, connected to Avy, let the prisoner get away. Incensed, the Slickers took up arms and eventually two of the gang were killed when they were rounded up. The others were expelled from the region (Vincent 1913: 140-144). Another version states that the Bank of Niangua was broken up when a widow of one of the dead gang members stopped getting her share of the profits (perhaps she is being confused with the Stennett gang member noted above). In any case, the bank was so well organized it had a board of directors which shared the profits, and she was the widow of one of the board members. Angry at being cut off, she went to St. Louis and contacted Federal officials (Wetmore 1837: 152-154; King 1983: 15) who rooted-out the gang. Regardless of the particular facts, these stories illustrate the isolation and wildness of this frontier region, where lawful authorities had only a slim hold on order, and if one sought justice, it was common and even expected that it would come through direct, individual action.

Roads

The earliest routes of transportation and settlement were the rivers, especially the Gasconade, Big Piney, and possibly Roubidoux Creek in Pulaski County. However, these water routes are twisting, bending streams, with many dangerous shoals that became very shallow in dry seasons. While they were useful for rafting lumber, steamboats and other river craft could not navigate these streams. These obstacles made crops difficult to market and severely handicapped the development of large scale agriculture, even if the soils would have allowed it. Due to the unreliability of the rivers, some of the earliest roads in the northern Ozarks led to the saw mills in the Gasconade valley (Schultz 1937: 102). In the Ozarks people relied heavily on roads for transportation. Therefore, road systems are an important element of the landscape and crucial for understanding the development and settlement of the area.

The earliest major road in Pulaski County was probably the Old Indian Trail, later named the Old Wire Road or Old Springfield Road. This road passed through the county from Rolla, west, to Springfield (Figure 2.2). "By 1858 [the Wire or Springfield Road] had become the most important route of travel and freighting through Crawford, Phelps, Pulaski and Laclede counties" (Schultz 1937: 104). As stated earlier, it is very possible this general route was followed by Dutisné in 1719. In 1860, a tri-weekly stagecoach ran along this route (Schultz 1937: 115) and included a stop in Waynesville at the old hotel which still stands on the courthouse square. Mail deliveries were also made along this road from St. Louis to Springfield (Wetmore 1837: 278).

There were other trails and paths beyond this road, some within the Fort Leonard Wood region. To discuss these it is necessary to examine a series of maps illustrating some inconsistencies, but overall exhibiting general agreement. First, it should be noted that the base map in Figure 2.2 is actually the geologic map shown in Figure 2.1, published in 1873. However, the data for the geologic base map (Figure 2.1), was gathered in the 1850s, but not published until 1873 because the Bureau of Geology and Mines was closed during the Civil War (Meek and Shumard 1873: Preface). The interest in the local geology of Pulaski County was initiated as a result of the proposed railroad route through the area in the 1850s (see below). The map (Figure 2.2) with the road system included, was discovered by the author in Mottaz (1960) and also in Campbell Figure 2.2 (1873) (see Figure 3.1). These roads have obviously been superimposed upon this base geologic map at an unknown date. A caption in Mottaz reads "roads from J. T(?) Fiala (?) map 1860" (Mottaz 1960: XI). No other reference is provided, though the identical map was published in Campbell's 1873 Atlas and that actually may be where Mottaz found her map (Figure 3.1).

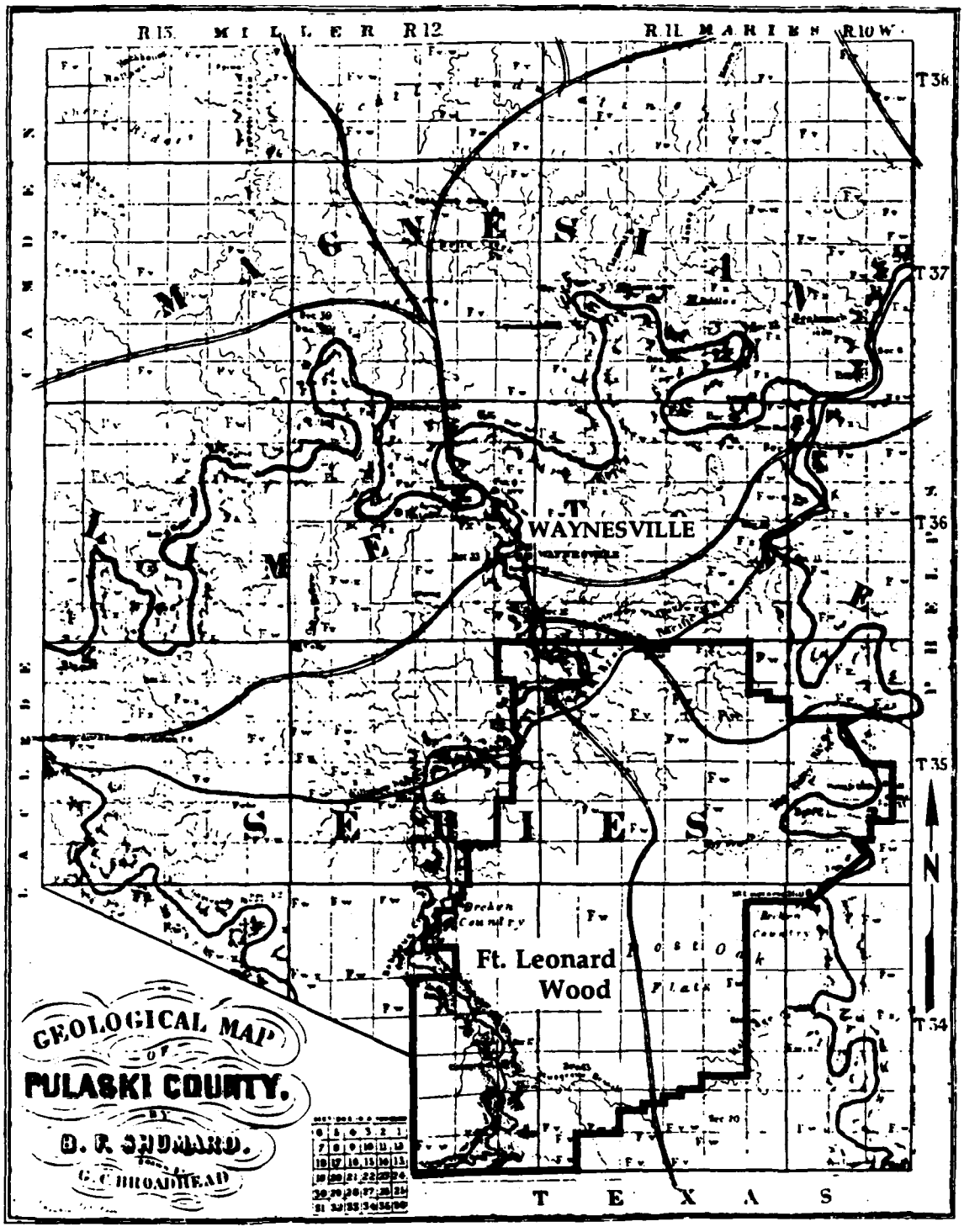


Figure 2.2 Map Showing Roads in Pulaski County, Missouri (Mottaz 1960: XI).

Regardless, the Old Springfield Road definitely was extant prior to 1873, and more than likely all of the roads shown on Mottaz and Campbell's maps were also extant before that time.

For example, Goodspeed mentions the "old salt road" was so named because William Moore hauled salt over it to Jefferson City and Stark's Ford (Goodspeed 1889: 109). Exactly where this road was located is not stated, but the Mottaz-Campbell maps do denote a road leading north out of Waynesville at this time. Also, an act of Congress in 1836 established a postal route from Jefferson City to Waynesville (Wetmore 1837: 277). Further, another mail road in this area included a postal route from..."the county seat of Morgan to the county seat of Pulaski." (Wetmore 1837: 277). To reach Jefferson City and Morgan County (and then on to Pettis County) a road would have had to exist running northwest from Waynesville and then split, one branch going north to Jefferson City and another going west to Morgan and Pettis Counties (Wetmore 1837: 278). The Mottaz-Campbell maps apparently illustrate this road system.

Goodspeed mentions only two roads during this period, and does not mention a road leading south out of Waynesville through the center of the Fort Leonard Wood region, as shown on the Mottaz-Campbell maps (Figure 2.2, Figure 3.1) The road was probably not mentioned by Goodspeed because it was only a trail at the time, or because he considered it an extension of the Old Springfield Road. Evidence for this road and others during the antebellum period is provided by three Civil War period maps, and the G.L.O. (General Land Office) maps for the area. The differences in these maps are intriguing, but confusing, and serve to emphasize a lack of general knowledge of the area at that time. These three maps are labeled "Map of Missouri" (Figure 2.3) (Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, Part 2: 594), "Map of the Southern States" (Figure 2.4) (Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, Part 1: 126, 127, 130, 131), and another Civil War period map covering a western theater (Figure 2.5) (Atlas to the Official Records 1894: Part XXXI, Plate CLII and CLIII, Sheets XVII and XVIII). Note that Figures 2.4 and 2.5 verify a road leading south from Waynesville existed in the 1860s. The Harper's map (Figure 2.4) corresponds with the Mottaz-Campbell maps, showing a road leading southeast to Houston through the Fort Leonard Wood area. However, the Atlas map (Figure 2.5) indicates the road paralleled Roubidoux Creek, then went southwest to a small town called Finley, and continued to Wickliffe before trending southeast to Huston. The Map of Missouri (Figure 2.3) (also a Harper's map) shows a road leading north out of Houston to Little Piney, but not to Waynesville. This road as drawn does not appear on any other map, which suggests it is actually the Waynesville to Houston road and was erroneously plotted on the map. The "old Houston dirt road" (Wilson 1990: 1) from Waynesville to Houston probably became part of Highway 17 near Bloodland, as will be discussed further in Chapter III.

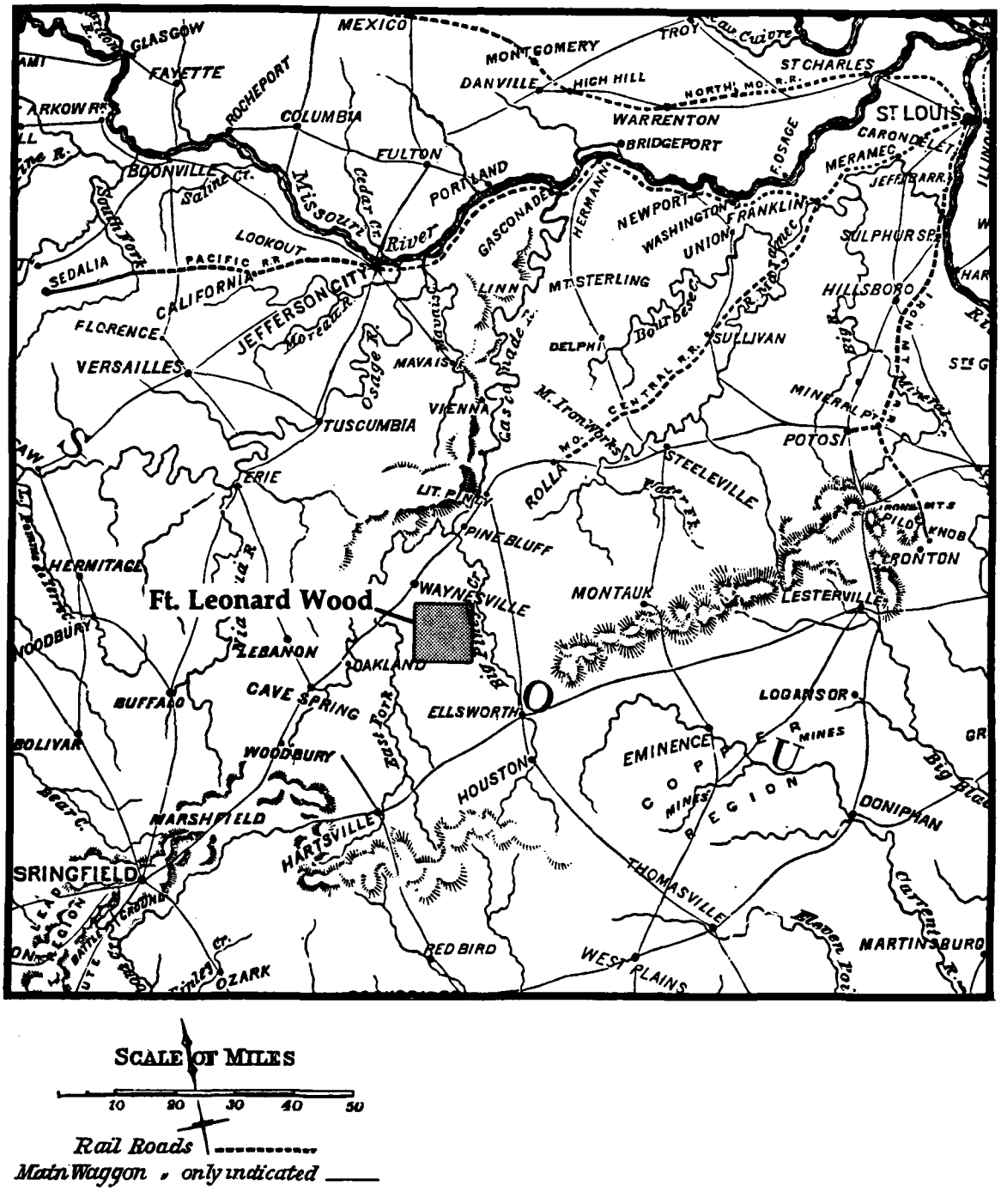


Figure 2.3 Roads in The Area of Pulaski County in 1860s, From "Map of Missouri " (Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, Part 2: 564).

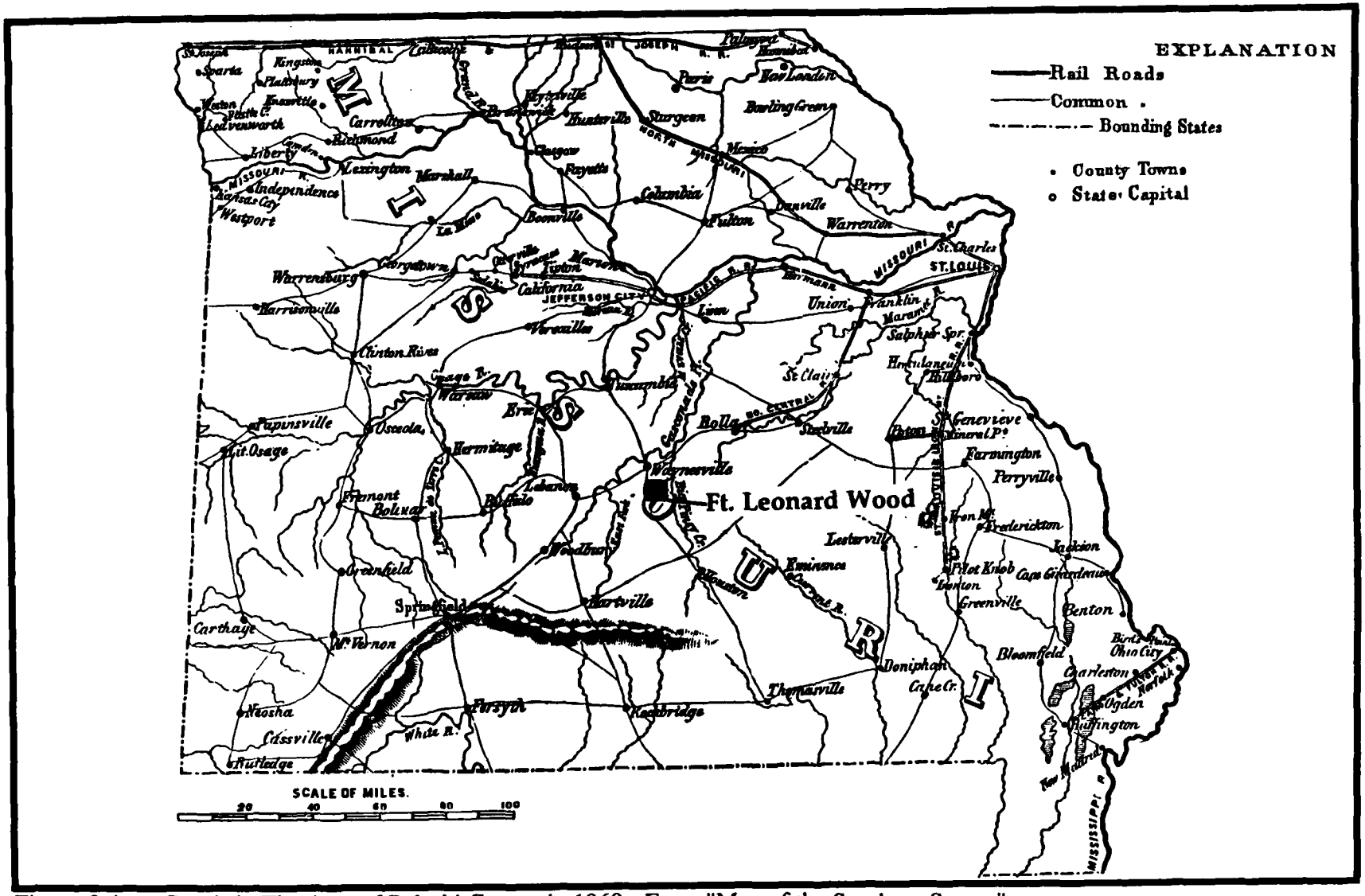


Figure 2.4 Roads in The Area of Pulaski County in 1860s, From "Map of the Southern States " (Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, Part 1: 126, 127, 130, 131).

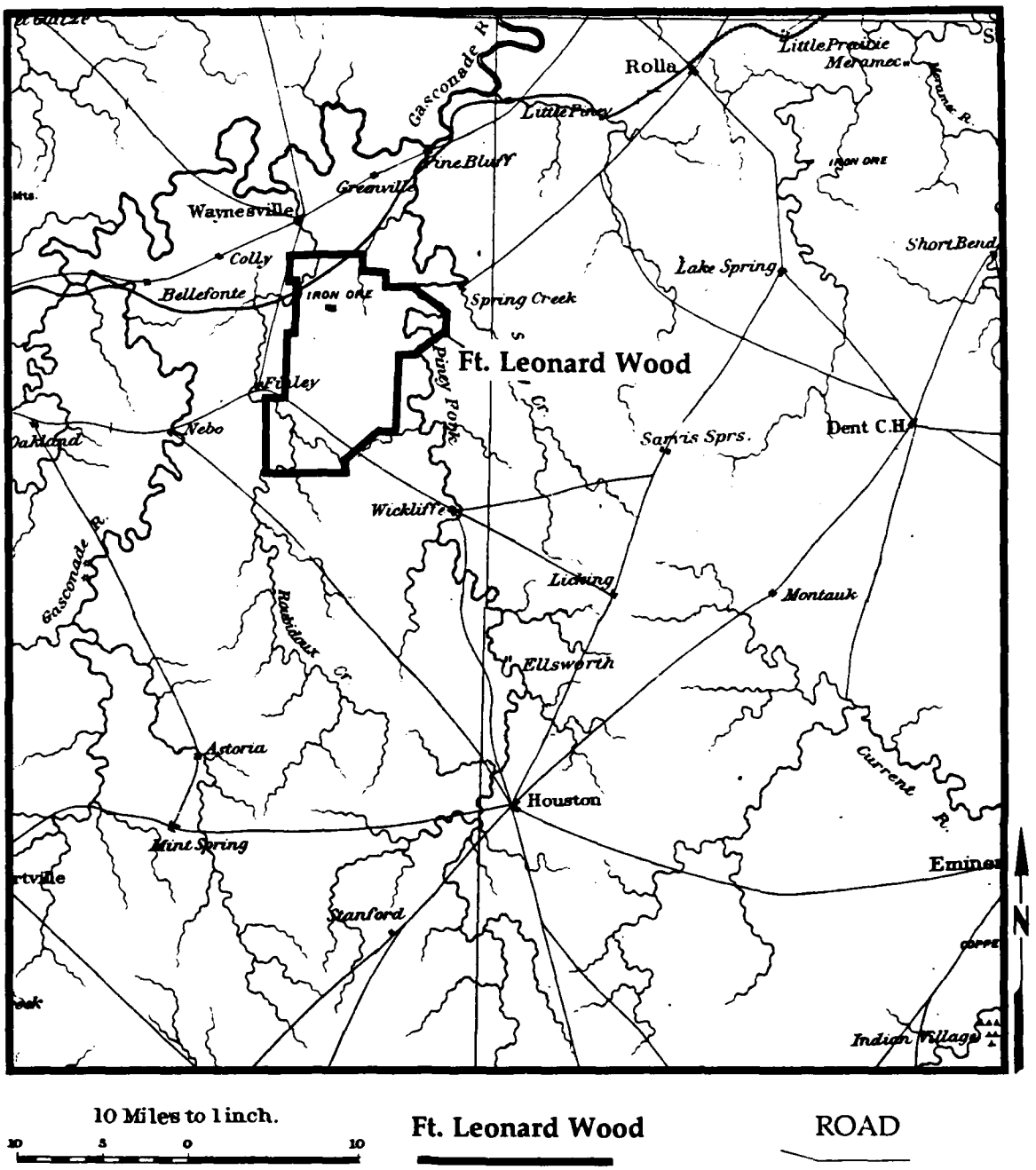


Figure 2.5 Roads in The Area of Pulaski County During Civil War, From "Map of Western Theater" (Atlas to the Official Records 1894: Part XXXI, Plate CLII, Sheets XVII and XVIII).

Finally, the Mottaz-Campbell maps (Figure 2.2, Figure 3.1) indicate another road, branching from the Waynesville to Houston Road, headed east from the Roubidoux across the prairie to the Big Piney. This was the Old Spring Creek Road, named for Spring Creek village located across the Big Piney, adjacent to Phelps County. This road may be one of the earliest roads in the Fort Leonard Wood region. The G.L.O. surveys provide the earliest recorded information about the area. Most of the G.L.O. maps show nothing in the area of Fort Leonard Wood. However, the G.L.O. map for Township 35 North, Range 11 West (Figure 2.6), surveyed as early as 1845, indicates two odd trails within the fort. The first of these is a trail leading from Roubidoux Creek near "Christisson's field" [Christenson] east up into the prairies running in a similar direction and path as the Spring Creek Road. On the G.L.O. map (Figure 2.6) it is labelled "from the Robidoux [sic] Creek to Big Piney" (G.L.O. T35N, R11W, 1845). However, the trail branches in Section 15, T35N, R11W, one fork going straight through Section 14, and the other through Section 23, where it turns south to meet the other branch which circles around to join. A trail leads north off the north branch but stops one Section over in Section 25. It does not reach the Big Piney River. By the 1860s the Robidoux [sic] to Big Piney road will become the Spring Creek road and the road to Huston. Even more confusing is a trail leading east out of Section 30 and heading northeast to cross the trail, discussed previously. This trail is labeled "State road from Springfield to Massey's Iron Works," but ends at its junction with the road to Big Piney. This trail, as it is is shown on the G.L.O. map, does not show up ever again on later maps, although later maps do show other roads running in a similar direction (see Chapters III and IV). It is possible that this trail was not used, and was later abandoned. Experience has shown that G.L.O. maps are generally very accurate, and therefore this southwest to northeast road is a mystery worth further investigation.

Insulation of the Fort Leonard Wood region from the outside world might have ended in the mid-nineteenth century had the Civil War not occurred. Plans were being made in the 1850s to bring the South Pacific Railroad (Goodspeed 1889: 119) through Pulaski County to Springfield. Geological surveys were conducted (Broadhead et al. 1873; Goodspeed 1889: 119; Swallow 1859), and the maps indicate the proposed railroad route passed immediately south of Waynesville (Figure 2.1). Goodspeed states that the route was surveyed in 1861, and Schultz states that the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad opened on June 1, 1855 and reached Rolla in December of 1860 (Schultz 1937: 111). However, there is little doubt that at least the survey was completed through Pulaski County by 1860 as indicated, if not the railroad. Local legend has it that Irish laborers constructed the Pulaski County rail section (Pulaski County Historical Society 1982: Volume II, 5) and dug the railroad tunnel in what is called Tunnel Hollow. This tunnel is located in the southeast quarter of Section 33, T36N, R10W, near Fort Leonard Wood's north gate. Many Irish laborers died from disease and were buried in a mass grave near the post gate on Route 17. An informant verified the existence of this cemetery, and stated his father successfully persuaded the highway

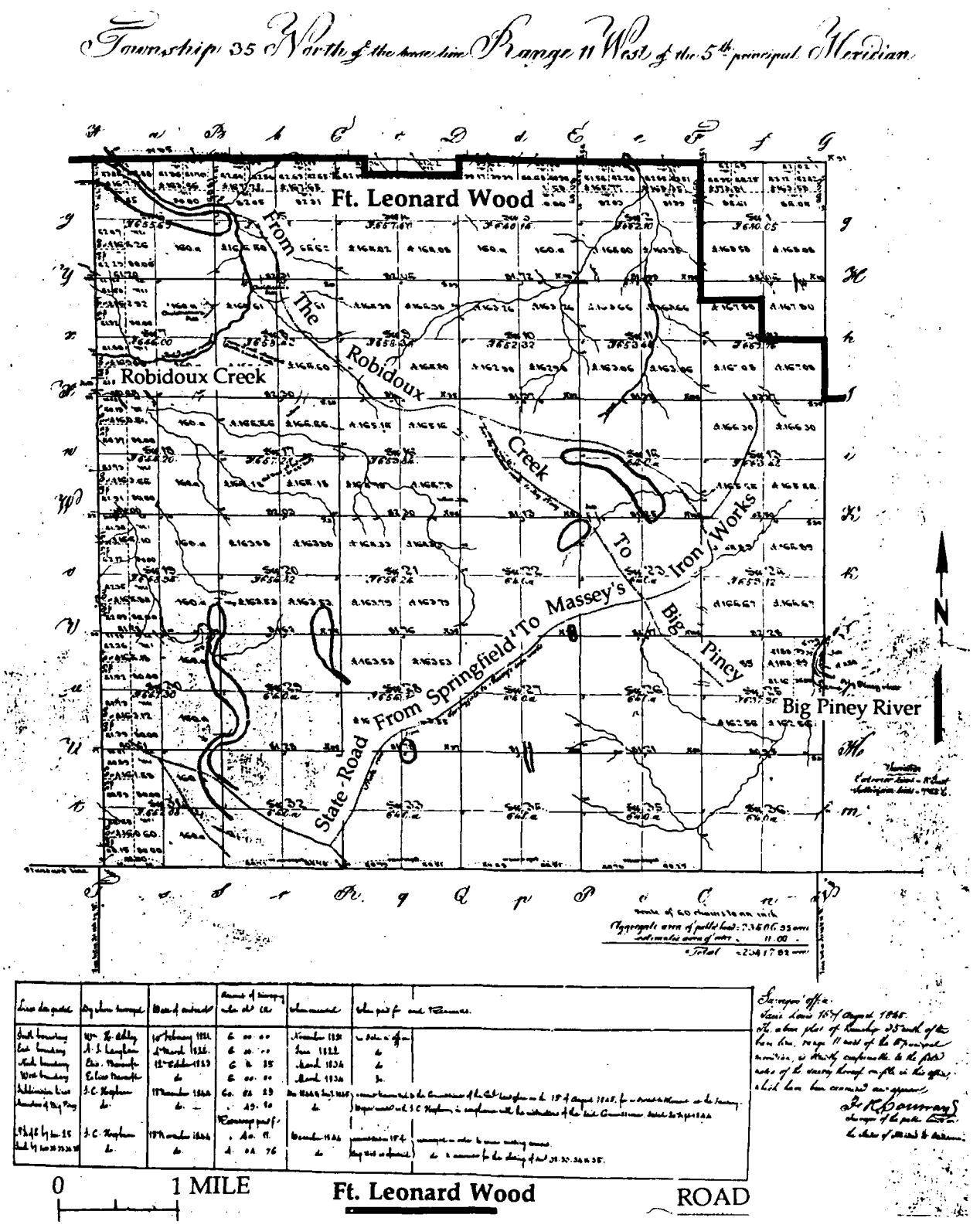


Figure 2.6 Close-up of G.L.O. for T35N, R11W, 1845.

department to route Highway 17 to avoid the laborers' graves. Unfortunately, during fort construction the cemetery was destroyed by road widening (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992). Irish laborers that survived railroad construction later settled along Irish Bend or Haley Bend, near the installation's southeast corner, and also on the Big Piney. The Civil War stopped completion of the railroad and when the effort was revived during the postbellum period the new line, named the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad, was re-routed through northern Pulaski County.

Antebellum Towns and Social Institutions

In describing the landscape of Pulaski County just prior to the Civil War, it would be an overstatement to equate it with a typical midwestern, mid-nineteenth century farm region as might be imagined in Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois at this time. More appropriately it could be identified with small upland south communities in northern Mississippi, Tennessee, and southern Illinois (see Chapter V). The area was still very much a frontier, with most families living on small, subsistence-level farmsteads, though to the north of Waynesville, and in the river valleys to the south, some farmers were probably contributing to the marketplace. However, south of Waynesville in the Fort Leonard Wood region, subsistence farming and hunting was still the norm. Waynesville continued to be the only location that could be called a village in Pulaski County in 1860, although a small village may have been located at Big Piney. By the Civil War, Waynesville had several houses and the main location of business in the town had changed from the mill and ferry across the Roubidoux River to the brick courthouse higher on the river terrace. Various stores were constructed and arranged in a typical courthouse square (Moser 1973: 10). Sergeant Benjamin F. McIntyre with the 19th Iowa Infantry described Waynesville during the Civil War:

> September 18, 1862
>
> Camp near Waynesville, Mo.
>
> Waynesville is one of those necessary little towns which are needed in certain counties as a place for horse racing, quarrels & fights and where bad whiskey and poor tobacco is offered for sale at reasonable prices for approved credit or country produce (McIntyre in Bradbury 1990: 35).

McIntyre's description is less than flattering, yet there were few other places people could gather for supplies, mail and community activities. Post offices denoted in documentary records and on maps provide information concerning the locations of both settlement concentrations, such as crossroad communities, and trading centers (Shortridge 1980: 66). Wetmore lists three post offices in Pulaski County in 1837, consisting of Cave Spring, Onyx and the Waynesville Court House (Wetmore 1837: 275). Only Waynesville would have been close to the Fort Leonard Wood area. However, Schultz states that

there was a post office at Little Piney from 1833-1868 and at Plato, south of the Fort Leonard Wood area near the Texas County border, in 1855 (Schultz 1982: 32, 43). Both were within the boundaries of early Pulaski County, but outside its modern boundaries. There was also a post office at Relfe in Phelps County in 1847 (Schultz 1982: 45).

Mills were also places where people gathered, not only to have grain ground but to pick up supplies. Millers often operated stores and post offices near the mills. Like general stores, people frequented mills to obtain essential items and services. For example, a memoranda book for a mill near Relfe on Spring Creek includes charges for milling flour and meal, carding cotton, purchase of ploughs, and "making 1 pr shoes for mother" (Ledgerwood 1851-1853: 4). In the Fort Leonard Wood region, Cook's Mill (Roubidoux) and McCourtney's Mill (Big Piney) are located on the 1850s geological map (Figure 2.1). Collectively, Waynesville, post offices, general stores, and mills served as central places for the local community.

Church services were also important gathering opportunities. Early settlers worshipped in their homes, and the circuit rider was a welcome sight for both worship and the news he carried, since there was no newspaper in the county until 1871. The need for community worship was strong and the first organized church in the area may have been the Primitive Baptists, who built a church house "in the Wayman settlement," in 1831 (Turpin n.d.: v), located just outside the Northeast boundary of Fort Leonard Wood. Ensminger (1934: 9) suggests a date of 1832 for the first church, built by Mr. E. J. Christenson, one of the earliest settlers in the area. By 1833, the Baptists were the first well organized religious groups in the Fort Leonard Wood area. In 1837 they sponsored the fourth annual meeting of the Little Piney United Baptist Association at the "Big Piney Meeting house" (Little Piney United Baptist Association 1837). This is likely the same location of the little village of Big Piney just beyond Fort Leonard Wood's eastern boundary and if so, indicates a village or cluster of structures were there quite early in the region's history. In 1846, they held their annual meeting again at the Big Piney Church (as it was now called) and had 32 people enrolled in the various local churches belonging to the Association (Little Piney Regular Baptist Association 1846). Missionary Baptists came in the 1850s and built a church in Smith Hollow (Ensminger 1934: 9). Methodists held their first service in the homes of Elizabeth Tilley and Josiah Turpin around 1833-34 (Ensminger 1934: 9; Turpin n.d.: v). One example of home worship was the Methodist Church which held services in the home of Wilson M. Tilley as early as 1834 (Edging 1992: 2).

Education, like the practice of religion, took place primarily in the homes of the earliest settlers. A formal education wasn't considered necessary to many Ozark pioneers, even though a public school act was passed in Missouri in 1839 (Ensminger 1934: 11). As one old gentleman (aged 108 in 1920) said during an interview, "In those days, education was not such a necessity that people felt constrained to force

it upon their children" (Liesman 1920: 2-3). Still, others avidly sought education for their children and when someone with an education came along, they were often asked to teach at a private home or through subscription (Mottaz 1960: 26). One of these early teachers was Richard Addison of unknown date. Another was "old man Spencer" who taught somewhere along the Roubidoux before 1840 (Ensminger 1934: 11). Waynesville attempted to open the Waynesville Academy in 1857, but nothing came of the effort immediately, and then the war came (Mottaz 1960: 28). Despite resistance or indifference, a school system did develop in the county and in 1860 some 1100 children were enrolled in Pulaski County schools (Ensminger 1937: 11).

THE CIVIL WAR IN PULASKI COUNTY

The sympathies of the Ozark population were strongly with the Union during the Civil War (Rafferty 1980: 83). However, both sides claimed many men from the Ozarks, and in Pulaski County, some historians place the majority of the population with the Southern cause (Mottaz 1960: 9; John Bradbury, personal communication June 15, 1992). For these backwoods people, the issues were confused but passionate. During the 1850s, the isolation of the Ozarks kept the population from being directly influenced by the arguments of abolitionists in the east and the slaveholders along the Missouri River (Rafferty 1980: 83). The poor geographic potential for large plantation agriculture meant that few slaves were used in Pulaski County. In 1840, there were 190 slaves in Pulaski County, and in 1850 there were 113 (U.S. Census of Population). Prior to the war in 1860, there were only 56 slaves within the borders of modern Pulaski County. Because of these demographics, it seems reasonable to assume county residents would have had little support for the concerns of planters and that the small farmers that constituted the majority in Pulaski would identify with the North's political stance on the slavery issue. However, Pulaski County settlers came primarily from Tennessee and Kentucky and in the election of 1860, Lincoln received only seven votes from the county (Mottaz 1960: 9). During the conflict, many local men joined military units. Fifty-nine joined the Union, and approximately 400 served in the Confederate Army, according to a local historian (Mottaz 1960: 15). However, it is interesting to note that the 1910 Census lists 124 Union veterans and only 18 Confederate veterans (Genealogy Society of Pulaski County 1987). Perhaps former guerrilla fighters with the Confederacy were hesitant to claim to be war veterans.

Again, the landscape directly affected war and warfare in the Ozarks and Pulaski County. The rugged hills and limited transportation routes restricted the mobility of large armies (Rafferty 1980: 84). The war in the rugged sections of the Ozarks was distinguished by small patrols, raids, ambushes, and bushwhacking by soldiers, irregulars, and guerillas (Huff 1991). The violence was ruthless, with men dying lonely deaths in skirmishes of only a handful of combatants on either side (vide Fellman 1989). Interestingly, the character of the war in Pulaski County is very suggestive of the conflicts and raids along

the Scottish-English border in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where many Scotch-Irish settlers had ancestral roots. Many bands of outlaws raided the countryside, one day claiming to be Federals and the next day Confederates. Meanwhile Union soldiers also patrolled the countryside, looking for southern sympathizers and bushwackers, and executing suspects often without due process. Terrorism was not confined to any one group or cause and, often, old private scores were settled by the opportunities war afforded (Huff 1991: 52).

When war began, local tempers were hot and a court was held in Waynesville at Dr. Lingo's drug store, where the majority voted for secession (Goodspeed 1889: 132; Mottaz 1960: 9). A pole was erected on the southwest corner of the courthouse square and the Confederate flag was raised. Later, a Union detachment in Rolla sent word to Waynesville to take down the flag, and it was removed after heated arguments (Mottaz 1960: 9). The Federal Army arrived in Waynesville on June 7, 1862 under the command of Colonel Albert Sigel (Mottaz 1960: 11). The Yankees promptly looted the town, and built a fort on the hill southeast of the town to guard the St. Louis-Springfield road (Mottaz 1960: 11). From Waynesville, Union patrols were sent out throughout the war to intercept and capture bushwhackers roaming the county.

While there were no major battles in the region around Waynesville, there were at least twenty-three separate actions from July 6, 1862 until January 1865 which Dyer (1908) classified as skirmishes, scouts, operations, and affairs (Table 2.5). Undoubtedly, soldiers and bushwhackers were often maneuvering within the Fort Leonard Wood area, and at least one skirmish took place within the boundaries of the fort. This was a skirmish at McCourtney's Mills along the Big Piney in January of 1865 (Figure 2.1). On December 22, 1864, Colonel Sigel, in Rolla, Missouri issued Special Orders No. 232, which ordered Lieutenant P. McRae with a detachment of 35 men of the 17th Illinois Cavalry to "proceed to the residence of Mr. Samples, and, joined by the latter, will do his best to capture a certain McCourtnay, James Bradford, Benjamin Anthony, and other scoundrels who at the present infest the country south of this post, thieving and murdering" (O. R., Vol. 41, Part 4: 918). McRae was ordered to burn out McCourtney's Mill which was a reputed hiding place for rebels. According to James King (1985: 95), McCourtney and Anthony were killed.

The raid on McCourtney's Mill was typical of the warfare in this region. A report of Captain Josiah Smith, Company H, Fifth Missouri State Militia Cavalry to Major Fischer, commanding at Waynesville, describes another typical action.

TABLE 2.5
CIVIL WAR ACTIONS IN THE WAYNESVILLE AREA: JULY 1862 TO JANUARY 1865

DATE	TYPE OF ACTION	LOCATION
July 6-8, 1862	Scout	Big River/Big Piney
July 25-26, 1862	Skirmish	Big Piney
Nov. 25, 1863	Skirmish	Big Piney
July 5-6, 1864	Scout (from)	Big Piney
Aug. 25-30, 1864	Scout (to)	Big Piney
Nov. 1, 1864	Skirmish	Big Piney
Dec. 3, 1864	Skirmish	Big Piney
Jan. 16-22, 1865	Operations	Big Piney
Aug. 29, 1862	Skirmish	California House
October 18, 1862	Skirmish	California House
Feb. 12, 1864	Affair	California House
Jan.--1865	Skirmish (see above)	McCourtney's Mills
May 31, 1862	Skirmish	Waynesville
July 6-8, 1862	Scout (see above)	Waynesville
Aug. 29-Sept., 1862	Expedition from	Waynesville
June 20-23, 1863	Scout	Waynesville
Aug. 25, 1863	Skirmish (see above)	Waynesville
Oct. 26, 1863	Skirmish	Waynesville
Nov. 25, 1863	Scout	Waynesville
Sept. 30, 1864	Skirmish	Waynesville
Nov. 1, 1864	Skirmish	Waynesville
Dec. 1-3, 1864	Operations from	Waynesville
Jan. 16-22, 1865	Operations(see above)	Waynesville
March 5-12, 1865	Scout	Waynesville
Mar. 29-April 2,1865	Scout	Waynesville
May 23, 1865	Skirmish	Waynesville

(Dyer 1908: 600, 603, 630, 655, 656, 790, 791).

Major:

Of the two late scouts made by your orders, I hafe the honor to report that on Saturday evening, the 19th [20th], when about 6 miles out of camp, I came across a gang of 26 bushwhackers. With my squad of 8, I pitched into them, and scattered them in all directions. It was in a short time a general running free fight, in which one of the men was taken prisoner, his horse and equipments taken, and he turned loose, on parole of a man signing himself S.S. Tucker, but whose real name is Benson Woods. The parole is, of course, not valid. Night coming on, we returned to camp, bringing only one pair of saddle-bags filled with provisions (as trophies).

Leaving camp again on the morning of the 20th, we scouted the country between the Robideaux and Gasconade to near the line of Laclede County. On the 21st, discovered signs of a band. On the 22d, struck their trail; but previous to this I had joined Lieutenant [C.C.] Tyford, of my company, with a squad of men, now making our number up to 27. About noon we came across the band grazing their horses,; but they discovered us about the same time we did them, but we were on them so quick that only 2 of them succedded in mounting, 1 of whom we caught, after a chase of nearly 2 miles; also 4 loose horses. Of those that we left afoot, 2 escaped, but their leader, a noted stage robber by the name of Casey, was killed....

We captured in all 3 bushwhackers, killed 1, captured 7 head of horse, 1 Government mule, 4 saddles, 1 Austrian rifle, 2 revolvers, 1 musketoon, and a quantity of clothing and boots and shoes, which they said they had taken from the store of Mr. Stith, near Lebanon (O.R. Vol. 22: 374).

Another letter, from a Private A.H. Stone, Company K, 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry, is of interest because it was written from Big Piney, Missouri. It is possible that this is the small village along the east border of the installation, but more likely the location probably refers to "Camp Big Piney" along the river (see King 1985: 87).

Big Piney, Missouri
February 20, 1864

My Dear Friend Ida:

The bushwhackers are becoming quite plentiful in this district, they are a cowardly set of villains and manage to keep clear of any troops it is very seldom we can catch any of them. We killed two last week. There was eleven seen last night about nine

> miles from here. I have got men out watching for them and I hope they will manage to find them. I gave them orders to fetch no prisoners into camp, and if they find them I don't believe they will take any alive (A.H. Stone to Ida, Feb.20, 1864).

The coming of the Union army and raids by bushwhackers brought fear to the citizens of the county. For a time, only the women and children were left in the countryside, some attempting to carry on farming (Goodspeed 1889: 111, 135). Eventually, many of them also left, leaving their homes to be looted by soldiers or bushwhackers. Some went to Illinois (Goodspeed 1889: 132). "Three fourth of the citizens have left the county. All is quite save some stealing & that is done by loafers" (Ellis to Sanderson, April 21, 1864). The county was almost deserted and unoccupied houses were burned. Crops were left in the fields and stock, which was turned loose, was rounded up and used by the guerillas, soldiers, and outlaws roaming the countryside. "Between the two [soldiers and bushwhackers] the stock, produce, money, everything almost that had ever been produced in the county, was consumed, and outside of Waynesville but little building was left" (Goodspeed 1889: 134). Within Waynesville, the village was in a state of occupation by the Union troops. No business was conducted, and most of the stores were eventually rifled and burned (Goodspeed 1889: 148). Those men who stayed in the county were mostly older men and they were hardly safe. Miles Carrol, for example, was killed by bushwhackers on October 8, 1864 (Wills 1968: 11). The nature of such a war made suspicions run high, and a good word from the right person, or the wrong word, could determine one's life. An example of this uncertainty is illustrated in a letter describing the sympathies of the local population. The letter mentions several prominent county residents. The letter was written by John B. Ellis to J.P. Sanderson, a Waynesville resident.

> Dear Sir:
>
> In compliance with your request of April the 7th, I will give you my own opinion of the reliability of those citizens of Pulaski County who will be most likely to send their names & influence to your Office for your consideration, & first I Shall name Solomon Bartlett, Thomas Turpin, James McMillen John Morgan, Samuel Hamilton Wm Mathew Benjamin Ricketts & Issac Riddle. These men are all farmers and I believe honest men that will not certify to any thing but what they believe to be true, & have been union men from the beginning of this rebellion and with the exception of Mr. McMillen (who is a man of Strong prejudices.) will be least apt to let their names be used their address is Waynesville, J.A. Reayl & Wm Wilson Merchants & Wilson Tilley & Howard Bryant farmers voted the Radical Ticket. Thes [e] men Started Secession-wise at the beginning but have been loyal for the last two years or more....
> (Ellis to Sanderson, April 21, 1864).

Tilley, whose farm was along the Roubidoux later was hanged. In 1962 bulldozers getting topsoil for the installation uncovered Tilley's coin box which he had concealed from Union soldiers (King 1985).

By the end of the war, Pulaski County, like the rest of the South, was in ruins. A dramatic change had taken place across the landscape. Few buildings were left standing, fields were grown over, and the population was scattered. Military sites like the fort at Waynesville were abandoned. In the years following the war, little was done except to rebuild and recover from the losses as the population returned (Goodspeed 1889: 111). Hindering the recovery were bands of roaming outlaws. For many the war and the violence did not end with Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House. For years after the war, the Ozarks remained a dangerous place, inhabited by desperate men who regarded the war not as a cause but as an opportunity for personal gain. These men continued to plunder and loot. Eventually, however, Pulaski County recovered economically, receiving a helpful boost from development of the railroad in 1867.

THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE: A SUMMARY

To conclude this chapter it is useful to summarize the changes that occurred on the landscape in and around the Fort Leonard Wood region between 1800 and 1867. Prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans, the region had been used primarily for hunting by Native Americans. The river valleys, hillsides and prairies were full of game. In the river valleys were heavy stands of yellow and white pine, oaks, and on the rough hillsides cut by intermittent streams, were stands of oaks, hickory, sycamore and other varieties. The uplands consisted of woodlands and prairies. The woodlands were composed mostly of post and pin oaks. The open prairies were covered with bluestem grasses, which were maintained by Native Americans to increase the forage and habitat for deer and other game species.

With the arrival of Euro-Americans the landscape began a slow but noticeable change. Very early in the nineteenth century, this change was seen in the clearing of Ozark River valley pine and other trees for lumber. By the 1850s, the Gasconade River valley had been cleared, and sections of the Big Piney River and Roubidoux Creek were also cut. Most likely this occurred farther south of the Fort Leonard Wood area, in Texas County. Along these streams small farmsteads began to appear in ever-increasing numbers. Patches of valleys were cleared for fields and nearby could be seen the cabins and barns of the farmers. Mills were constructed along the rivers at strategic locations. Road systems for business were also subsequently developed. In the woodlands, hunting became increasingly more challenging as the population grew, but was still very profitable, and travelers were more and more likely to encounter hogs, cattle and horses throughout the period. In some parts, it became more and more difficult to travel because people were burning the underbrush less often. On the uplands, an occasional cabin could be found, but more

likely the only evidence of Euro-Americans were the roads. Off the roads were smaller trails, bending-off to the hillsides and leading to the farmsteads in the valleys.

The only major settlement that existed near the study area was Waynesville, where a mill was located at the river and a blacksmith, store, and a few other buildings were clustered around the log courthouse. New building continued in this area. On both rivers Cook's mill and McCourtney's mills were operating, and more than likely the people in the local region would go to them to trade for supplies at the store run by the miller. In a little clearing in the uplands was a group of buildings known locally as Big Piney. Over the years between 1830 and 1860 neighbors grew closer as more people settled the area.

From the viewpoint of a founding settler, Pulaski County in the 1850s was taking on the trappings of civilization with the development of roads, a village, mills, churches and schools. It was still best to be cautious about strangers met along the road or the river, yet many of the bandits of earlier times had been expelled from the region. There was plenty of timber to cut, game to hunt, and land to clear. The railroad was coming too, and this was sure to bring prosperity and opportunity.

The 1860s brought ruin instead. As the land was of no use to the planter, slaves had never been found in any concentration in Pulaski County. But the issues of the day could not be ignored and neighbors began to take sides over slavery and states rights. Loud debates and fights ensued. Men began to leave home, some marched off to join the Union armies, others the Confederates. Others disappeared into the woods to join bushwackers and guerrilla units. An unusual noise from the woods began to bring fear to the farmer, as did the sound of horses coming down the road. The land changed as the fields weren't tended and weeds grew up. Food was increasingly harder to locate. Many of those left behind--women, children and older men--moved to another state or to town for protection. Through the war years the countryside returned to empty wilderness. Union soldiers arrived and built a fort in Waynesville and men began to die in ambushes, skirmishes and hangings. By 1865, although no major battles had taken place, Pulaski County's landscape had changed. The developments of the antebellum period were destroyed, fields left fallow, and few buildings were left standing. The latter 1860s were a time of suffering and very slow recovery.

CHAPTER III:
FARMING AND TIE-HACKING:
THE LANDSCAPE FROM 1867 TO 1910

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LANDSCAPE

Soldiers, refugees, and families returned to Pulaski County to find the landscape they left behind severely changed. Their homesteads had been burned, fields were overgrown with weeds, their cattle had been slaughtered, and their horses had been taken. Hogs too would have been slaughtered, however, as they normally roamed freely through the woods, many probably escaped and were now feral. Underbrush in the woodlands had grown up without care, making it more difficult to travel freely through the area. It is also possible that some erosion had taken place from the lack of maintenance of the fields and in the areas where trees had been cut. These were the changes seen by those who returned. But not all Missourians returned. The war had depopulated many parts of the state, and cheap farmland was available to land-hungry people in the east. These easterners grabbed vacant lands sometimes sold for back taxes by the county (Fellman 1989: 242).

Overall, the recovery period in the Ozarks and Pulaski County was strongly affected by the politics and cultural changes occurring statewide (Rafferty 1980: 90). The transition to a peace-time life was difficult and the new radical government in Missouri did not make it easier (McReynolds 1962: 258-282). Those who had fought for the South, or were known to have supported the Southern cause, were forced to sign loyalty oaths (Switzler 1879: 444-445), vowing they had "never given aid or sympathy to the Confederate movement" (Rafferty 1980: 90). Within Missouri this act disenfranchised a third of the voters, and as there were many such people in Pulaski County the effect must have been significant. Eventually in 1870, the oath was modified to a simple declaration of support for the state and federal constitutions, however, much of the damage had already been done (Nagel 1977: 141; Parrish et al. 1980: 210). To add to the woes of the Ozarkians, the Panic of 1873 and a grasshopper plague in 1874 stalled the state's agricultural recovery (Rafferty 1980: 91). Statewide, Missouri's agricultural land development made progress between 1860 and 1870. However, southern Pulaski County and the rest of the Ozarks were left out (see map, Fellman 1989: 245).

Though the war was over, the countryside was still a dangerous place as men who had grown accustomed to the freedom and violence of war refused to return to peaceful pursuits. These outlaws found the rough Ozark country a safe refuge from the law. One of the most famous was Jesse James, whose first hold-up was the Clay County Saving Association on Feb. 13, 1866 (Parrish et al. 1980: 196). Many of

the local Pulaski County population thought James a hero and loved to read or hear of his exploits. One reason for this was that James' most common victim was the railroad, and the people in the area loathed the railroad, which owned much land in the region (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992). It is also possible that James was loved because he was considered a thorn in the side of the radical authorities in the state. Eventually the people grew tired of the fear brought on by the lawlessness, and voluntary groups of vigilantes called 'regulators' took matters in their own hands, much as they had done during the Slicker War (Parrish et al. 1980: 197). One of the most famous of these vigilante groups was the Bald Knobbers whose range was in Taney County, southwest of Pulaski County. Like earlier groups, these vigilantes were as lawless as those on whom they preyed and justice was lost in the process. Soon anti-Bald Knobbers were organized, and the lawless years continued from the mid-nineteenth century through the 1880s (Rafferty 1980: 91).

THE LATE-NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE

Population and the Effect of the Railroads

Despite the lawlessness, the majority of the population settled down to rebuild their lives and property. Pulaski County's recovery was encouraged by construction of the railroad through the Ozarks, which Rafferty describes as being built at "a furious pace" (Rafferty 1980: 90). The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, later to become the St. Louis and San Franciso Railroad, was completed as early as 1867. Its directors abandoned the costly original southern route for a route north of Waynesville (Figure 3.1) in more open rolling country (Goodspeed 1889: 119; Miner 1972: 84).

The railroad had the greatest direct effect of any other development on the natural and cultural landscape from the late-nineteenth century to 1920s. Besides its need for the timber in the area, which will be discussed further below, it also brought people. Statewide, there was a 45% increase in settlement between the 1860 and 1870 (Fellman 1989: 242) reflecting a national trend of a more mobile population after the Civil War. In Pulaski County, the population increased in the decade following the war at a rate that could be considered a wave of immigration compared to the antebellum period (Goodspeed 1889: 111). Census figures (Table 3.1) indicate a 53% increase in population during this period, the greatest population spurt in Pulaski County history prior to the arrival of thousands of workers and soldiers during World War II.

The people who made up this influx of population to the Ozarks and to Pulaski County came from a different part of the United States than earlier settlers. Whereas the early settlers were overwhelmingly from Tennessee and Kentucky (Gerlach 1976: 179), these new immigrants were from northern states like

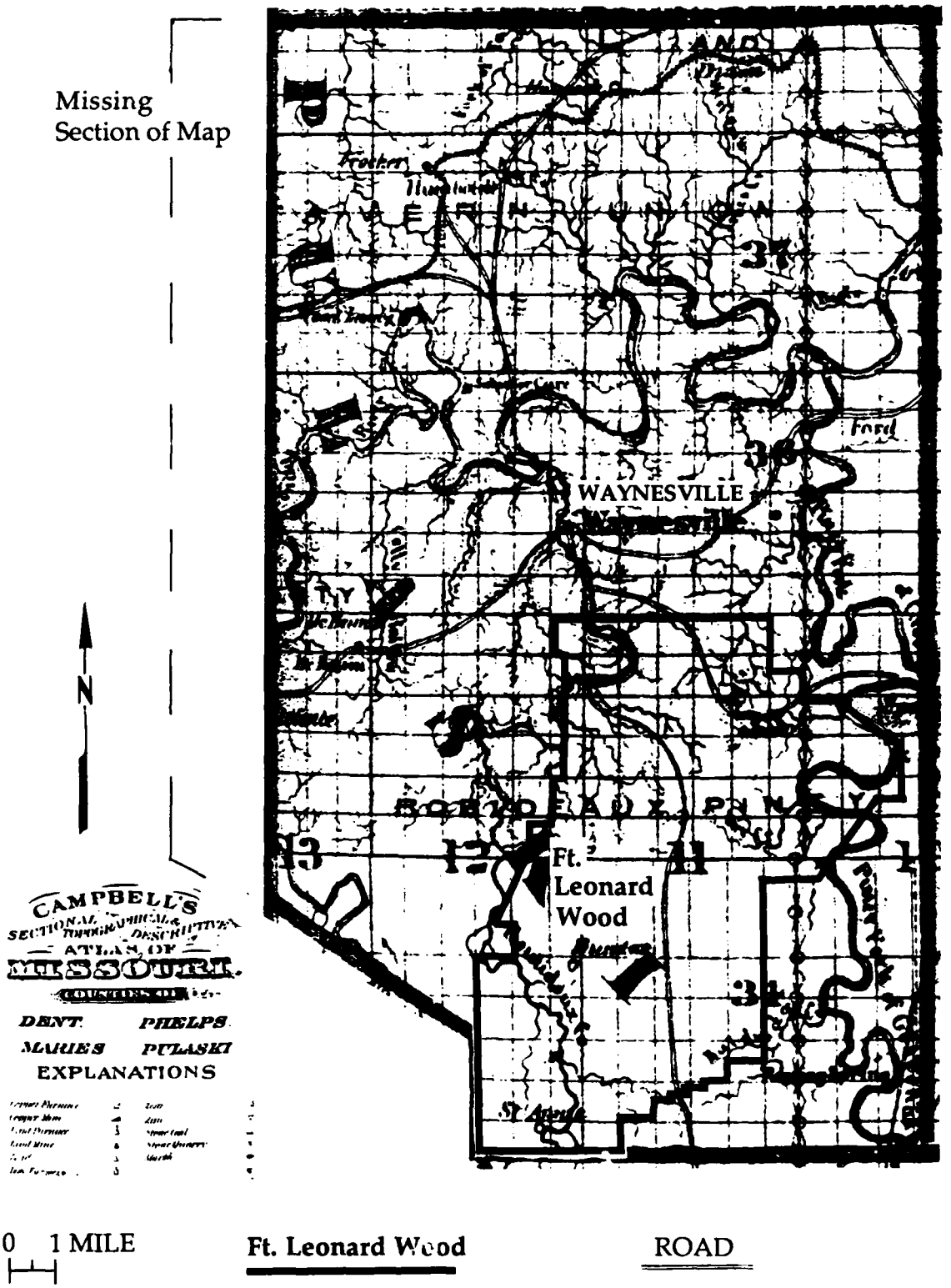


Figure 3.1 Campbell's Map of Pulaski County (Campbell 1873).

TABLE 3.1
POPULATION FIGURES FOR
PULASKI COUNTY: 1870-1910

DATE	WHITE	BLACK	TOTAL
1870	4,689	25	4,714
1880	7,190	60	7,250
1890	9,364	23	9,387
1900	10,357	37	10,394
1910	11,416	22	11,438

(U.S. Census of Population 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910).

Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana. Migration continued from Tennessee and Kentucky but not to the degree typical of earlier decades (Sauer 1920: 160). By 1890, Illinois had supplied the greatest number of immigrants to Missouri (135,585), followed by Kentucky (99,985), Ohio (84,907), Indiana (70,563) and Tennessee (67,591) (Rafferty 1980: 64). This migration was assisted not only by the railroad but also by the Homestead Act of 1862 (Sauer 1920: 160). Accompanying this migration of people from the midwest and midsouth into Pulaski County, were 50 Swedes who settled in Swedeborg in 1876 and comprised the only concentrated ethnic group in the county (Gerlach 1976: 44-45).

While some of the new arrivals settled in the rural parts of the state and county, the majority settled in towns, especially the new railroad towns being created (Fellman 1989: 244). This was another way the railroad changed the landscape and the settlement pattern. Towns were built all along the county and some, like Newburg, influenced the Fort Leonard Wood area (Beemer 1984: 11). In Pulaski County, "For the first time sprang up other towns than Waynesville along the railway, and almost simultaneously too" (Goodspeed 1889: 111). These railroad towns included Dixon, Crocker, Swedeborg, and Richland, which throughout the late-nineteenth century, grew at a faster rate than Waynesville or any of the small villages south of Waynesville. By 1889, Richland had a population of 600, Dixon 500, while Waynesville grew to only 150. Though Waynesville would remain the "center of the wealth of the county, and its business is still good, the greater activity in business is, of course, located about the railway...the greater town being Richland" (Goodspeed 1889: 111). Thus, the differences between the southern and northern parts of the county, evident before the war, were more pronounced in the late-nineteenth century. With the arrival of the railroad the focus of population growth, commerce, trade, and agricultural progress shifted

from the center of the county in and around Waynesville, to the small towns to the north along the railroad line.

The railroad also brought goods and supplies from the outside world into the Pulaski County region (Goodspeed 1889: 111). This brought about a change in material culture as the county shifted from primarily a self-sufficient frontier community to one that had greater access to outside products and markets (Mottaz 1960: 19). These products were manufactured in the east and were sold inexpensively throughout the nation. With the arrival of the railroad, northern Pulaski County probably began to take more of the appearance of a mid-western rural community as might be imagined in the northern states like Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

In the region that became Fort Leonard Wood the railroad's effects were indirect. Since the southern part of the county remained at a subsistence farming level, it is doubtful that change in market location concerned the inhabitants. Sauer (1920) emphasizes that farmers contributing to the market in the Fort Leonard Wood region were 15 to 20 miles from the railroad, which posed a serious transportation handicap (Sauer 1920: 219, 222). However, the effect of the railroad boom increased the market for railroad ties, as will be discussed below, and this effect was significant, if not decisive in shaping the landscape. Furthermore, ties, unlike agricultural products, could still be rafted to the railheads. While the people here would not have direct access to the railheads, eventually products reached the region through trade. Access to manufactured goods was certainly greater following the railroad's arrival. Before the railroad, the only major trade route was along the Springfield road to St. Louis.

Had the railroad been built along its original route, the settlement patterns of late-nineteenth century Pulaski County would have been very different. It is likely that if the original route had been used there would have been an increase of population in the Fort Leonard Wood region, with towns developing along the main road, from St. Louis to Springfield, and the railroad paralleling the road--a pattern seen often in more open terrain. Goodspeed implies as much in his history, noting that townships formed in 1869, such as Cullen, Roubidoux, Piney, Union, Tavern, and Liberty, were modified in 1872 due to population changes brought about by the railroad in northern Pulaski County (Goodspeed 1889: 114). The landscape ultimately shaped the course of settlement in the late-nineteenth century as the railroad followed the path of least resistance to the north. In turn, local topography influenced the railroad's route and changed the course of settlement and population in the county. Southern Pulaski County remained rural and isolated well into the twentieth century. Further evidence of this is demonstrated in the population figures for the three townships which encompass modern Fort Leonard Wood (Table 3.2). While the three townships combined are larger than the fort, most of Piney and Roubidoux townships (approximately 80% of Piney, and 70% of Roubidoux), and a much smaller portion of Cullen (approximately 25%), are now the property of the U.S.

Army. Table 3.2 presents a reliable profile of the late-nineteenth century population levels for the region. The table illustrates this area never possessed greater than 44% of the counties' population during this late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Focusing on Piney and Roubidoux townships, the populations of these townships (ie. most of the modern installation) were composed of less than a thousand inhabitants (Piney Township reached 1,040 in 1910). The population peak in this area prior to establishment of Fort Leonard Wood occurred in 1910. Further, while Cullen township grew steadily, Roubidoux and Piney continued to experience population decline between 1910 and 1940 (see next chapter).

TABLE 3.2
POPULATION OF CULLEN,
ROUBIDOUX AND PINEY TOWNSHIPS,
PULASKI COUNTY, MISSOURI: 1870-1910

DATE	CULLEN*	ROUB.	PINEY	TOTAL	% COUNTY
1870	849	677	541	2,067	44%
1880	1,252	768	535	2,555	35%
1890	1,668	829	731	3,210	34%
1900	1,986	842	929	3,757	36%
1910	2,091	980	1,040	4,111	35%

*Waynesville incorporated in 1901
with 257 people (U.S. Census of Population).

In terms of visibility across the landscape, the greatest effect the railroad had on southern Pulaski County was the increasing need for railroad ties. Timber was still abundant in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and although the Gasconade Valley had been cleared before the war, there was still pine in the valleys of the Big Piney and oaks on the hillsides and flats. But this changed quickly as "The national railroad building boom from 1870 to 1910 revolutionized the market for hardwoods with its perpetual and voracious appetite for ties" (Douthit 1979: 141). Some 3,000 ties were needed for each mile of railroad track (Rafferty 1980: 172). These ties were needed not only locally but also nationwide. In 1865, there were 35,000 miles of railroad track in the nation. Only eight years later, this mileage had doubled, and by 1904, some 200,000 miles of track were in use (Hofstadter et al. 1967: 516, 522). Along with railroad ties, timber was needed for barrels, furniture, tool and implement handles, posts, poles, charcoal, and baskets (Douthit 1979: 141). Much of the wood locally was also cut for fuel. Timber extraction provided the people of the region with a ready source of income when cash was needed. Although the region was experiencing the transition from a subsistence to a cash-oriented economy, many still

thought cash was not a necessity. This sentiment was expressed by George Lane, a senior resident of the area, who emphasized that the only purchases made by most households were for "sugar, salt, and coffee" (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992), and the land provided the rest. Foremost it provided timber, and some rough and ready individuals with an occupation.

The Tie-Hackers

The age of 'tie-hacking' along the Big Piney River in Pulaski, Texas, and Phelps Counties occurred between the late-nineteenth century and the 1920s (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992). As Mr. Lane states, in those days the people "made it in the timber." If you had a good river bottom farm one could make a living as a farmer, but most people in the hills turned to tie-hacking for the cash needed to buy the things they couldn't make or grow. The Big Piney emptied into the Gasconade, and at the confluence was the town of Arlington, which was a railhead. Arlington's strategic point had already made it a focal point for the tie-hackers. With the war over and the railroad in full operation, Arlington became even more important to the tie-hackers as a place where they could either raft their ties to the railhead or haul them with oxen and horses. Another important town was Jerome in Phelps County.

Around the 1870s a tie-hacker could, on average, make 30 ties per day and sell them for 15 cents per tie (Arthur 1940: 10). The primary source was white or post oak, which the railroad preferred because it gave a little "bounce" when the train ran over the track (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992). To hack-out a tie, the trees were first cut into lengths and the logs were then shaped into ties. The round logs were scored and then shaped in a rectangle using a broadaxe to hew or "face" them between the scores (Arthur 1940: 11). The ties were usually eight feet long and six by eight inches in width (Rafferty 1980: 173). Like all occupations, tie-hackers had their own language. Ties made from large trees, which could make four ties within its girth, were called 'quarter-ties.' Two ties made within the girth of a tree were called 'half-moon ties.' Once made, the ties were hauled to the river and rafted downstream, or occasionally, hauled overland. If rafted, sometimes the ties were chuted down the steep sides of a riverbank. It took considerable skill to cut a tree, hack out the ties, and chute them down to the river, all on the side of a steep Ozark hillside. In the twentieth century the ties occasionally were collected at Waynesville to be hauled to the railhead at Crocker, and Mr. Lane remembers that the courthouse yard was converted temporarily into a tie-yard. The ties were gathered there for hauling to Crocker to be sold to the railroad (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992). Men would come down from the hills to work in the yard, get paid in cash, and disappear back into the hills.

Along with tie-hacking, tie-rafting required considerable skill and daring. Tie hacking and rafting could be pursued anytime, and often in the dead of winter rafts were transported downstream when the

waterways were strewn with ice (Arthur 1940: 12). Rafts consisted of 100 to 500 ties nailed together in a square of about 36 ties each, according to Arthur, while Rafferty states they were "one tie wide and about sixteen feet long, holding about twenty ties" (Rafferty 1980: 178). The differences probably relate to the season and condition of the river. Within the ties were logs called 'floaters' cut from sassafras, ash, or sycamore (Arthur 1940: 13). The floaters gave additional buoyancy to the raft. The squares were then coupled. The first rafters used grapevines to couple the squares. Later, rope was used and nails were added. By coupling a number of 'squares' together, the breaks between the 'squares' allowed the raft to bend around the twisting course of the typical Ozark river. Above the ties, the men built a scaffold which they walked on as they "snubbed" or "set" (stopped or guided) the raft down the river (Arthur 1940: 13-14). In poor weather, a tent was built on the scaffold. Bends along the rivers became well known for their danger and given names appropriate to the respect they held with the rafters. On the Big Piney some of the names included "Devils Elbow,...Turkey Neck Bend,...Pike's Defeat,...Blind Horse Bluff,...Wayman Slide, and...Crooked Chute" (Arthur 1940: 20-23).

The rafters were legendary characters right out of Ozark folklore, and like the flatboatmen on the Ohio, they became famous for running rafts in dangerous conditions and for fighting and drinking between runs. One of the local folk heros was Nathan Henson, known as 'one-lick' Henson, because he only needed to hit you once (Arthur 1940: 14). The most famous, according to Arthur was Nathaniel "Stub" Borders, born in 1873. Borders worked numerous heavy jobs, in keeping with the versatility of the Ozark backwoodsman. He became a legend for his tie-hacking and rafting escapades. He suffered a number of injuries, including the loss of a hand, toe, and eye in a dynamite accident (Arthur 1940: 43), but these accidents did not stop him from continuing his wild lifestyle. Such men were heroes to some, yet the farmers of the area regarded them with disdain for their reckless and lawless behavior (Sauer 1920: 183).

Tie-hacking and rafting continued throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century reaching its peak around World War I. Tie-hacking changed the face of the landscape in Pulaski County, but the loss of timber was more subtle than that in other counties where large lumber companies came in and cut-over large areas leaving vast open tracts (Rafferty 1980: 172-190). The railroad was probably the largest corporate landowner in the area. Besides purchasing land for their right of way, the railroad purchased tracts of land in Pulaski County and hired small family-run companies or individual tie-hackers to cut the trees (James Black, personal communication May 12, 1992; John Grinstead personal communication, May 18, 1992). But the areas were not cut over immediately, rather the best wood was chosen and cut first, so that the changes on the landscape were more gradual, as the woods became thinner and thinner through the nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Except for some legendary tie-hackers, most people did not work at tie-hacking full time. As noted, tie-hacking was a method of getting cash when a farmer needed a little extra funds, especially in the twentieth century after the age of the tie-hackers. Farmers primarily tie-hacked

during the winter or some other less intensive agricultural season (Sauer 1920: 183). Thus farmers and other residents of southern Pulaski County would continue to cut ties right up to the purchase of the property by the Forest Service and Fort Leonard Wood.

Another way the railroad found labor was to allow squatters to settle on railroad land. As the squatters needed cash they would cut the timber. The railroad's official policy was not to allow squatters on the land and made occasional attempts to run them off after giving plenty of advanced warning. However the squatters, warned by railroad pamphlets, would simply pack up and leave until the railroad made their forays. Once the the railroad had done its duty, the squatters would return, to everyone's satisfaction (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992). Once the railroad had taken the useful timber off the land, it was sold. One late-nineteenth century advertisement that still exists reads, "Lands Available in Franklin Co., Crawford Co., Phelps Co., Maries Co., Pulaski Co., along the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway, 69,000 acres in Pulaski County" (Railroad Papers n.d.).

Though tie-hacking continued well into the twentieth century, by 1900 its effects were already evident. A book written for the Missouri Exhibit of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, described Pulaski County at the turn of the century as, "Two-thirds of the timbered lands have been cut over and bordering the railroad and creeks practically all merchantable size trees have been made into railroad ties and rough board lumber" (Williams 1904: 484).

General and Subsistence Agriculture

Farming in the Ozarks changed as well after the Civil War. In this region, including the northern portions of Pulaski County, general farming (meaning diversified farming and participation in the market economy) probably began around 1870. The lands were settled, opened, and the railroad provided the ability to get crops to market (Rafferty 1980: 150). In the late-nineteenth century, most of the Ozarks participated in a general period of progress after the initial setbacks of the late 1860s. In fact, by 1880 in Pulaski County, only 174 (20%) of the 839 farms were on shares, 19 were rented, and the remaining, 646, were owned (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1880). In 1890, 958 farms were owned, 26 rented, and 323 (25%) were on shares. By 1900, the 1,512 farms in Pulaski County were divided as follows: 904 owned, 114 part owners, 35 owners and tenants, 19 managers, 44 cash renters, and 396 (26%) on shares (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1890, 1900).

Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 provide a selective list of products listed in the Census of Agriculture for Pulaski County. Shown in these tables are the principle products produced in the county. Although the census provides a much wider variety of products in the county including mules, rye, cheese, sweet

potatoes, and hay, they are not listed. Mules never seem to have been a major farm animal in Pulaski County; the total mules counted in the Pulaski County census were 135 for 1870, 928 for 1890, and 1,314 for 1910 (U.S. Census of Agriculture). Rye production never was more than 765 bushels in 1870, and sweet potatoes more than 3,426 in 1920 (U.S. Census of Agriculture). As the census tables indicate, corn was the primary crop grown and hogs were the primary animal bred. It might be added here that these figures give one only a feel for production levels on a county level. Exactly what was being contributed to the market within the fort boundaries is unknown. Adding to the difficulty in analyzing these figures, the

TABLE 3.3
ANIMAL PRODUCTION
FOR PULASKI COUNTY: 1870-1910

Year	Horses	Oxen	Cows*	Cattle	Sheep	Swine
1870	1,481	661	1,271	?	3,886	10,154
1880	2,077	135	2,270	4,410	4,509	19,870
1890	3,295	142	4,262	10,915	6,197	23,245
1900	3,794	–	3,314	8,414	8,803	20,271
1910	4,750	–	4,217	9,479	15,722	19,557

*Milch Cows (All Figures, U.S. Census of Agriculture).

TABLE 3.4
CROP PRODUCTION FOR
PULASKI COUNTY: 1870- 1910

Year	Wool*	Wheat	Corn	Oats	Butter*
1870	7,150	28,037	201,019	20,873	78,580
1880	11,991	57,573	478,652	39,920	69,995
1890	17,847	77,127	596,732	99,764	187,068
1900	24,820	57,530	616,070	40,360	205,432
1910	–	28,349	673,300	12,835	230,773

*Wool and Butter in pounds, all other in bushels (U.S. Census of Agriculture).

methodology for obtaining these figures changed from decade to decade. Generally, as one proceeds forward in time, the number of products counted increases, as does the intervals broken down within each category. This makes comparison from one decade to the next very difficult.

Still another problem with using census materials is how deceiving the figures can be if one does not look at them closely. For instance, the production levels for tobacco in the county are 10,910 pounds in 1880, 23,350 in 1890, and 8,850 in 1900 (U.S. Census of Agriculture). From this it might appear that tobacco was an important commercial crop in the county. However, the 8,850 pounds in 1900 were grown on only 15 acres of land. Thus, tobacco was never an important cash crop in Pulaski County. However, a little was grown on about every farm for personal use, along with cotton for spinning and weaving the clothing (Sauer 1920: 162). Wheat and oats might also appear to figure prominently in the county's output. Yet the output for both was only from zero to 200 bushels per square mile of improved farmland (whereas the wheat growing areas of Missouri, along the Missouri River, were over 3,000 bushels per square mile and oats was from 600 to over 1,000 bushels per square mile of improved farmland) (Sauer 1920: 194-195). Corn in Pulaski County, however, yielded as much as 4,000 to 5,000 bushels per square mile of improved farmland which was comparable to more than 7,000 for the northwestern parts of Missouri farm county (Sauer 1920: 193). Thus, what emerges from these tables is that corn was the primary crop grown in the county. Hogs were the most common farm animal around this time. In 1909, there were as many as 30 to 40 hogs per square mile, but only two to three cattle per square mile (Sauer 1920: 200). No upland farmstead was without chickens, and the figures for 1880, 1890, and 1900 indicate that chickens were plentiful. In 1880 there were 25,471 chickens in Pulaski County, 91,756 in 1890, and 52,567 in 1900 (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1880, 1890, 1900). Other agricultural products in the county included sorghum, tobacco, Irish potatoes, apples, goats, and honey.

Table 3.5 provides information about farm sizes in Pulaski County. This table was especially frustrating to compile because the Census changed the size of their measuring units over the years. Regardless, this table clearly indicates the nature of farms in the area. Small farms from 3 to 500 acres in size predominated, with few large farms over 500 acres. Most farms during the period from 1870 to 1910 were from 100 to 200 acres in size. The average size of a Pulaski County farm was approximately 120 to 129 acres in size (Sauer 1920: 181). In 1910 the number of farms peaked, along with the population. The population would never be larger until after the arrival of the U.S. Army.

Though general farming dominated the Missouri landscape and northern sections of the Pulaski County in the late-nineteenth century, this was not to be in the Osage Gasconade Hills area including the region around Fort Leonard Wood. Here, subsistence farming continued (Rafferty 1980: 154). The

exception to this might be some of the more fertile areas in the Roubidoux and Big Piney River valleys. Also in 1900, specialized farming, especially dairy farming, became wide-spread in the Ozarks (Rafferty 1980: 161). The uplands in the Fort Leonard Wood area were suitable for this kind of production. It is probable that the larger farms in this area began dairy farming around 1910.

Continuing the pioneer tradition, the area around Fort Leonard Wood remained "...largely open and unfenced" (Goodspeed 1889: 99) during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Cattle and pigs continued to run on free range (Sauer 1920: 185). The cattle were marked in the spring and turned loose, with little care, except to provide salt. The leaders of the herd were belled, so that when the farmer wanted to round up the herd, they could be more easily gathered (Sauer 1920: 186). Strays were so common that the local newspaper routinely ran a column called the "Stray List" in which people reported the strays they had rounded up (Pulaski County Democrat 1902).

TABLE 3.5

FARM AND FARM SIZE IN PULASKI COUNTY*

Year	Farms	≥3	3-10	10-20	20-50	50-100	100-500	500-1000	≤1000
1880	839	-	2	6	98	290	436	7	-
1890	1,307	-	11	50	171	344	721	8	2
1900	1,512	3	13	31	221	404	828	12	-
1910	1,696	2	38	47	304	453	833	16	3

*Comparability is difficult, from 1880 until 1900, farms were broken down as listed. In 1910 farms broken down into different categories, 3-9, 10-19, 20-49, etc.

Mary Jane Thomson, 77 year old woman who lived in the Wildwood area of the installation (near the north gate) was interviewed in 1941 about loosing her home to the installation. She was born in 1864 and her adult memories could be placed beginning around 1880s. She describes the subsistence style agricultural life around Fort Leonard Wood and its settlement pattern:

> "There were few homesteaders on the land that stretched southward between the Big Piney River and Roubidoux Creek. The soil gave back little for the toil that went into it, but there were crossties to be cut and there was game for the hunter and pelts for the trapper, and the Big Piney then as now, was the fisherman's dream come true. There were no settlements south of highway that is now [Route] 66. A few small stores, called trading centers, supplied the needs of the homesteader on the basis of barter, and the cash customers who camped along the Big Piney to fish (Behymer 1941).

The people in the area of Fort Leonard Wood were subsistence homesteaders in the true sense of the word. They fed and clothed themselves by whatever opportunistic means were available, including hunting, gathering, trapping, tie-hacking, and farming. Most people ignored any existing hunting laws. Whatever land was left in woodland or forest was considered semi-public land, available for hunting at anytime (Sauer 1920: 184-185). Sauer provides a detailed look at the Osage-Gasconade rural landscape around 1910 and supplements it with statistics from the thirteenth (1910) census. He notes that only 27% of Pulaski County land was classified as "improved" (Sauer 1920: 178). However, 60 to 80% of the land in Pulaski County was farmland (Sauer 1920: 180) with much of it woodland. The average number of acres of improved farmland per farm in Pulaski County was from 50 to 59 acres in 1910 (Sauer 1920: 182). It would appear from this that there was still quite a bit of woodland on most farms at that time, enough to sustain the hunting and gathering lifestyle of these people. Many farmsteads or homesteads were still built of logs and ranged from "crude one-room cabins of rough-hewn, ill-fitted logs to structures built of carefully squared logs, joined so well that almost no 'chinking' is required" (Sauer 1920: 206). He notes that the barns were wretched sheds, and that the corn remained in the field through out the year or was put in log cribs.

Besides subsistence farming and tie-hacking, there were few other occupations and almost nothing that could be called industry. The 1860 U.S. Census of Manufacturers list only six flour and meal mills and a single tobacco establishment, with a total of nine persons employed. The 1880 U.S. Census of Manufacturers lists only five flouring and grist mills in Pulaski County, with only six people employed (U.S. Census of Manufacturers, 1860 and 1880). No saw mills were listed. The timber cut in this county was hauled, mostly as ties, to other counties for further processing. The Ozark Onyx Company operated a mine in the 1890s in northern Pulaski County "near Frank Switch" which provided employment for 40 men (Knehans 1991: 9). This was the extent of industry in the region and emphasizes its agricultural culture.

Roads

Through the late-nineteenth century and into the twentieth, Ozark roads usually followed the ridgetops (Schultz 1937: 101). As they were developed homesteaders would begin to settle along the road, changing the settlement pattern from homes along the river valleys to increasingly more homesteaders in the uplands and along the ridgetops. The number of routes in and out of the Fort Leonard Wood area increased, although they were still dirt and and likely to become impassable after heavy rains. Immediately after the war, however, there was little improvement. Campbell's Atlas of 1873 (Figure 3.1), referred to in the previous chapter as the Mottaz-Campbell map (see Chapter III, Roads), shows the road system in

Pulaski County at that time. The main roads here are no different than those of the 1860s. In the Fort Leonard Wood region Houston Road is shown running out of Waynesville along Roubidoux Creek for a few miles and then onto the uplands and directly along the central ridge between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney. The Old Spring Creek Road is also shown. There is no sign of the "state road" shown on the 1845 G.L.O. indicating that if it existed it had been abandoned by then probably in favor of the Springfield Road. Obviously some smaller roads or trails existed leading to homesteads, but at the scale projected they are not shown. In 1889, Goodspeed notes that "At present the chief county roads are the old "Wire Road," [Springfield Road] and the Union Road; other county roads are made from towns to some populous settlements whose trade is desired. There are no county bridges; two ferries are on the Gasconade, and twenty-nine fords, with fifteen fords on the Big Piney" (Goodspeed 1889: 120). This statement hints at the other trails and wagon roads in the county and probably within the installation boundaries.

The Union Road, mentioned by Goodspeed, has not been identified. It is not named on a Pulaski County map of roads and farmsteads (Figure 3.2) dating to around the turn of the century. Further research might bring to light which road was referred to as Union Road, although it is possible the Union Road and the Houston road are the same. Figure 3.2 is very valuable because it includes homesteads, roads, churches, and schools. Based on the evidence available, it would appear that this map dates between 1900 and 1906. This date is offered because the map shows the Bayou School house just north of Big Piney, and the St. Anne (St. Annie) church just south of Cookville. In the county history by the Pulaski County Historical Society (1990: 14) it states that the Bayou School was replaced by the Big Piney school in 1906. Further, St. Anne Baptist Church was established in 1900 (Ensminger 1934: 95-96). These two facts seem to bracket the maps production between those dates. Further research might refine or change these dates however. Regardless, the map is typical of ones made in the late-nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century, and therefore provides a wealth of settlement data pertaining to the turn of the century, probably in a range from 1880 to 1920.

This map (Figure 3.2) has great detail, and although its accuracy is questionable for use in determining legal property lines (William Morgan personal communication, May 1992), it probably is reasonably accurate for the road system operating at that time. Within the Fort Leonard Wood area the map shows the old Houston Road, discussed above, leading south from Waynesville following the Roubidoux before turning east to the uplands and following a route similar to the Mottaz-Campbell maps (Figures 2.2, 3.1). It crosses Roubidoux Creek twice, once at Kerr's Mill. At the poor farm (see below) it branches north and south, one branch becoming the Spring Creek Road. Along Spring Creek Road is the Irish Cemetery, marking the location of the modern fort's gate. The Spring Creek Road crosses Dry Creek Hollow and Republican Hollow before crossing the Big Piney River. At Dry Creek Hollow it also branches south and becomes Big Piney Road passing through Tribune. This road and its branches may

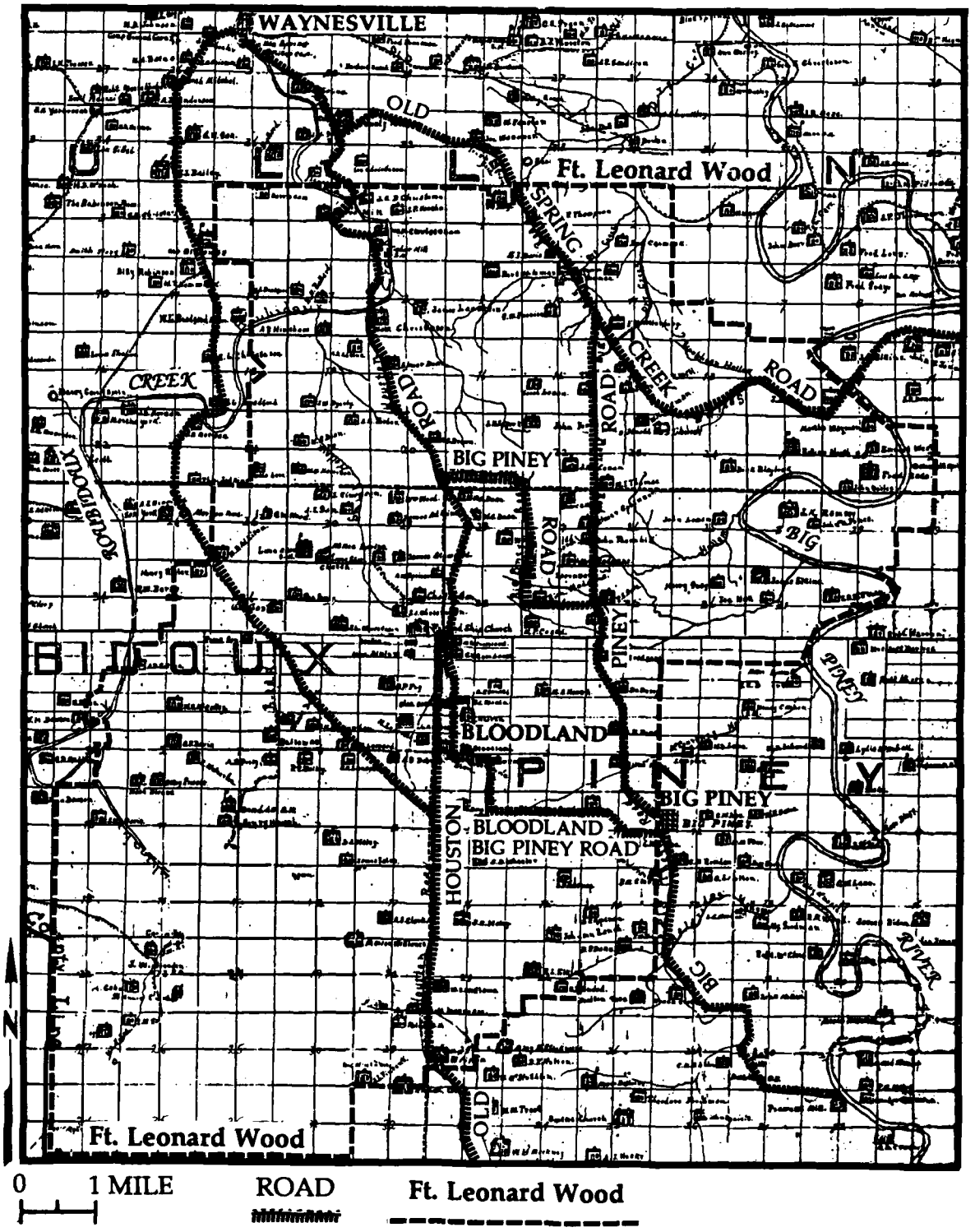


Figure 3.2 Close-up of Fort Leonard Wood Region showing roads around 1900-1906 from map entitled "Pulaski County, Missouri" (on file, DEH, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri).

actually be the same road that is noted on the circa 1845 G.L.O., thereby making it one of the oldest roads in the Fort Leonard Wood Region and a likely zone to search for early homesteads.

The Old Houston Road continues south along the center of the Fort Leonard Wood region through Bloodland and south past the Palace School house. This portion of the route, from Bloodland and on south, is probably in the same location as modern Highway 17. Above Bloodland, another branch goes to Big Piney, and this road also still exists today within the installation. There is another road shown on the map leading south out of Waynesville to Mt. Gibson School house west of the installation. The road then crosses the Roubidoux and runs southeast back to the Houston Road. It is possible that this road is the remains of the old "state" road shown on the G.L.O. (Figure 2.6). The map also shows that a branch of this same road leads to Cookville and St. Anne, however, from that point the map has been destroyed on the author's copy. The map also shows the location of Smith Hollow, McCourtney Hollow, and Baldridge Hollow. The Big Piney Road, of which there are several branches, heads south out of Big Piney and eventually ends at Prewett's Mill on the Big Piney River. In doing so, it passes across Baldridge hollow. These, were the principal roads in the Fort Leonard Wood region during the late-nineteenth century, although it is obvious that other small trails branch-off these roads. For instance, Lonestar School house is shown with no road leading to it, but some road must have existed. However, the roads noted here are important in that many still exist within the installation today, many probably in the same condition (dirt) as during their use in the late-nineteenth century.

While this map has a number of intriguing details, it does little to assist in refining the exact settlement pattern, other than noting that the Fort Leonard Wood area seems to be well settled with homesteads widely dispersed across the landscape by the turn of the twentieth century. There are no large gaps in the homesteading shown across the map. However, the location of the houses appear to be placed according to their section but were not accurately located within the each section. That is, the map maker was emphasizing the names of landowners, using symbols for houses, not the exact location of the structures on a property No topographic detail was drawn on the map either, although some hollows were named. Whether or not houses were located down in the hollows or on the ridgetops or whether the names were those of landowners or tenants has not been indicated. While these questions cannot be answered using this map, it still is useful for analytical purposes in combination with other maps and plats.

Towns, Villages, and Trading Centers

As stated earlier, the railroads brought an increase in county population, and with it railroad towns sprang up along the rails where farmers could bring their crops to market and trade could thrive. These railroad towns, Richland, Crocker, Dixon, Swedeborg, and Hancock, served the northern Pulaski County

farmers and homesteaders. A promotional handbook written to draw immigrants to Missouri adds to this list the railroad towns of Woodend and Franks (Missouri Immigrant Society 1881: 226). However, south of the railroad, the only major town available for the people in the Fort Leonard Wood area remained Waynesville. Occasionally people of this area would travel to Crocker or Richland especially to haul railroad ties, and would even travel to Rolla for supplies, but such trips over crude roads were major affairs.

Waynesville was the central distribution point for the local population in the Fort Leonard Wood area, and remained the county seat of government. Waynesville was a small but viable little community during the late-nineteenth century. The first newspaper in the county, the Pulaski County Signal, started there in 1871 (Old Settlers Gazette 1988: 18). In 1889, the town included a barber, watch repair shop, groceries, post office, drugstore, stock dealer, meat market, bootery, livery, the Waynesville Hotel, two blacksmiths, one carpenter, a physician, four attorneys, and the Pulaski County Signal's offices (Goodspeed 1889: 152). In 1872, a new brick courthouse had been built, measuring 60 by 40 feet, and 22 feet high (Goodspeed 1889: 117). Unfortunately, at 3:00 A.M. on June 13, 1903, this courthouse was struck by lightning and burned, destroying much of the county's land history (Turpin n.d.: i). The town population remained low throughout the period. Eventually enough people settled there to incorporate in 1901 and by 1910 the population was at 257 (Sauer 1920: 228).

Travel to Waynesville was a long trip over rough roads, and it was during the late-nineteenth century time frame that the population in the Fort Leonard Wood region grew large enough to support small trading centers (ie. general stores with post offices included) which served the daily or weekly needs of the local people. The exact date these little clusters of buildings appeared is lost in history, however, using post office information, one can get some indication of the dates these trading centers were active. Table 3.6 lists the dates of the post offices in the Fort Leonard Wood region.

Some fragmentary insights about these little trading centers exist which shed additional light on the rural community around Fort Leonard Wood. In looking at the Table, for instance, the location of the Bailey post office was probably north of Dundas, or perhaps, it was Dundas itself. A Bailey family lived just northeast of Dundas School according to one map (Figure 3.2). Dundas School was north of Cookville. It is assumed that near the Dundas school there was a general store or some building where mail was sent. The Dundas place name also shows up on a map of Missouri in a handbook published in 1881 (Missouri Immigration Society 1881). The Pulaski County Democrat, the Waynesville paper which replaced the Signal, mentioned activities at Dundas in a weekly section called "Neighborhood News" in 1902. Later, this post office was moved or the place name Bailey was used because the Bailey's ran it. One source states that Bailey might have become Bloodland (Moser 1973: 1) but the Bailey Post Office was operating at the same time as the Bloodland post office, making that unlikely.

TABLE 3.6
POST OFFICES IN THE
FORT LEONARD WOOD REGION

Name	Dates Of Operation	General Location
Bailey	1884-1914	within FLW(?)
Big Piney	1881-1972	East border of FLW
Bloodland	1898-1941	Center of FLW on 17
Cookville	1878-1941	Within FLW, SW area
Devil's Elbow	1927-present	North of FLW ~ 2 miles
Duke	1897-1906	East of FLW ~5 miles
Dundas	1869-1884	Moved to Bailey 1884
Dundas School		N. of Cookville (FLW) ~ 1 mile (?)
Hanna	1901-1943	West of FLW ~ 1 mile
Moab	1891-1929	N.E. FLW ~ 1 mile
Palace	1909-57	South of FLW > mile
St. Annie	1867-1895	S. of Cookville, moved to Laclede County, 1878
Tribune	1879-1941	North center FLW along 17
Waynesville	1834-present	Northwest FLW ~ 4 miles
Wharton	1907-1933	North center FLW
Wildwood	1907-1933	North gate FLW

(Schultz 1982: 7, 14, 16, 17, 25, 36, 41, 47, 55, 56).

The exact date of the village of Big Piney was established, just along the east border of Fort Leonard Wood (Section 12, T34N, R10W) is not known. However, a Big Piney Baptist Church existed as early as 1839. As stated in the previous chapter, it is very likely that there was a little cluster of buildings, including a store at Big Piney as early as the 1840s. The post office did not open until 1881. Big Piney became large enough to call itself a village by this time and stands today as an existing, undamaged example of the settlements that once thrived within the Fort Leonard Wood region throughout its history.

Cookville grew out of Cook's Mill, which is shown on the early geological map (Figure 2.1) and the mill probably dates to as early as 1845 (York and York 1975: 163). By 1878 a cluster of buildings, including the store and post office, were built and remain today as archaeological site 23PU277. Goodspeed

named William J. Cook in his list of prominent Pulaski County citizens. He states that "In 1883 Mr. Cook located on his present farm, which consists of 320 acres. It is situated on the Roubidoux River [Creek]. In connection with the post-office he keeps a stock of general merchandise, which brings him quite a nice little sum annually" (Goodspeed 1889: 780). William Cook was probably the son of Joel Burton Cook who arrived there around 1845 (York and York 1975: 163).

According to folklore, the Bloodland location was named for a man named Blood as early as 1842 (York and York 1975: 157; Works Progress Administration 1935-1942). However, the origin of Bloodland as a village probably dates sometime in the late 1880s (York and York 1975: 157; Schroeder 1989: 10; Anon. n.d.). It grew to be the largest village within the region now encompassed by Fort Leonard Wood. Bloodland had a high school, a bank and a canning factory in the twentieth century. A more detailed look at Bloodland is presented in the next chapter.

There is even less known about the other place names noted in Table 3.6. Moser (1975: 7) places Moab within the boundaries of Fort Leonard Wood. However, other maps show that it was outside the installation. The village of Palace still exists today, just outside the modern south gate of Fort Leonard Wood along Route 17. The Palace school was located inside the fort, though, at one time. Little is known about St. Annie, except that a church was drawn on a map of the 1930s (Figure 3.2) and it was noted on a map in a handbook published in 1881 (Missouri Immigration Society 1881). St. Annie was located just a mile south of Cookville. The post office was later moved to Laclede County, west of the fort, using the same name. Tribune was another small post office within the borders of the present Fort Leonard Wood. It was located north of Bloodland along Route 17. A brief survey of local historic newspapers indicates that Tribune was mentioned in the Pulaski County Democrat's "Neighborhood News" in 1902. Wharton consisted of a store with a post office in it (see discussion and photograph, Chapter IV). It was located about a mile or two west of Tribune off Route 17, or along the old Houston dirt road leading from Bloodland to Waynesville (Wilson 1990: 1). It was named for a Mrs. Wharton, the first postmaster. Melchesedec Brown was commissioned the post master of Wharton in 1910 and moved the post office a mile south along the same road. He was born in Smith Hollow on June 21, 1876. Later, when the post office closed in 1933, he became a judge (Wilson 1990: 2).

Wildwood, now probably destroyed by the four-lane entrance to Fort Leonard Wood (Moser 1975: 11), was established at the same time as Wharton and lasted until 1935 when the postal service consolidated fourth class post offices. "It was a wildwood, when Frank Thomson, a homesteader, built a tiny store at the roadside. The post office that the government established there with Thomson as postmaster was named Wildwood, in keeping with the surroundings. Through all the years it has remained a wildwood, with only the store and post office and homestead to justify its name. Thomson laid claim to 160 acres, clearing part

of the land for crops and keeping the remainder as range for his cattle and hogs" (Behymer 1941). Thomson died at 83, and is buried in Rolling Heath Cemetery on the installation.

Other little roadside centers came and went. For instance, Goodspeed (1889: 151) mentions that "Leone is a town in contemplation in the southeastern part of the county. G.P. Walker heads the enterprise." This town does not show up in the records again and its location is unknown. Further research may reveal its fate. For now, it is speculated that Leone became Palace. Another place name in the records is Lone Star, which had a school at one time. Around the turn of the century, Lone Star or Lonestar was big enough to be recognized in the Pulaski County Democrat in the "Neighborhood News" section. One entry under Lonestar reads,"A nice rain feil here last Friday, although it nearly washed everything down the hollow" (Pulaski County Democrat 1902). These, were the place names of post offices, trading centers, or mills within and nearby the Fort Leonard Wood region at this time. Further information about some of them is provided in the following chapter.

Political and Social Institutions

After the war and throughout the nineteenth century, Pulaski County was slowly transformed from a wild, backwoods frontier of the antebellum period toward a more typical nineteenth century community, including the establishment of organized political and social institutions. Citizens recognized the need for better roads, schools, and churches, and they worked to improve and develop the land.

A public school act had been passed in Missouri as early as 1839, however, as noted in the previous chapter, public education met with resistance by some early settlers. They felt that public schools were a form of charity, and early on schools were labeled 'pauper schools' (Mottaz 1960: 27). This attitude persisted through the late-nineteenth century among a few people perhaps slowing educational progress in the area. Still others saw the value in education and in Waynesville public schools were built. In 1886, a two-story two-room school house was built in town. In the early 1900s this schoolhouse was replaced by a concrete block building (Mottaz 1960: 28). Elsewhere in the county in 1870, the Richland Academy was started by Captain Davis, Captain H.E. Warren, Dr. Tyree, and Rev. J.A. Bradshaw (Mottaz 1960: 28). By 1873, Pulaski County schools were organized into 49 districts, with eight frame and 23 log buildings at a total value of $6,115.00. "There were 29 male and nine female teachers, the men drawing an average of $30.91 and women $22.75 per month. The average attendance for each child was 59 days per year" (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 1). In 1876, the 49 districts were consolidated to 38 districts.

Teachers were given instruction at two schools of higher education in Pulaski County. One was the Waynesville Summer Institute which was established around 1885 and was open until 1910. Mottaz (1960: 28) describes this school as the equivalent of a junior college today, and the teachers in the area attended it to sharpen their skills. The other teachers school was the Pulaski County Institute at Dixon. In 1896, this institute had 27 male and 27 female students and 47 teaching certifications were issued; total expenses for the institute that year was $168.00 (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 2).

The schools in the Fort Leonard Wood region were mostly typical one-room log buildings. "Schoolhouses.... built of large logs and the benches of smaller logs split in half and mounted with the split side up...polished to a high degree of brilliancy by the application of homespun cloth worn by boys and girls" (Liesman 1920: 3). Since the community men would gather and build a school on public land (Behymer 1941; Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 1), school buildings were also used for community gatherings and church. One of the schools in this area in the late-nineteenth century included the Bayou School located one-fourth mile from Big Piney. It served the area until 1906 (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 14). Teachers included George Phillips in 1899, and George Lane Sr. (father of George Lane, informant for project). In 1899, as many as 81 students attended (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 14). The Bayou School was replaced by Big Piney #60 (T34N, R10W) in 1906 (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 22). Bloodland also had a school, probably established before 1909 (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 24). Another school in the Fort Leonard Wood region was Cedar Hill #50. This school lays claim to the school of "Mr. Spencer," the teacher named in the previous chapter as the first in the county (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 45). Lonestar School #51 was in session at least by 1906, and probably earlier (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 112-113). Maze School #57, razed by the Army, was located southeast of Devil's Elbow (T35-36N, Range 10-11W) (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 117). Maze is described as one of the earliest in the county. A second building was built in 1890. Sometime prior to 1912, there was a school called Buck's Skull #55, near the existing Rolling Heath school building on the installation (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 152). Rolling Heath replaced it in 1912 (see Chapter IV). South of the fort was the St. Anne school, probably part of the St. Annie community, open by 1897 (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 165). George Lane Sr. also taught there. Mr. Harley Dye taught there in 1906 with a salary of $33.00 per month. Finally, the Union School #52, was located near the Tribune Store (see Figure 4.3, Chapter IV). This school was established at least as early as 1908 (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 180).

Church buildings were also becoming a common site on the landscape by the late-nineteenth century in the Fort Leonard Wood region, often being built in or near the locale of the schools. The majority of Pulaski County citizens were Baptists, and as noted earlier, they soon organized under the

Southern Baptist Association. The Civil War interrupted the association's activities, but by 1870, their annual meetings were being held again (Mottaz 1960: 37). Within the Fort Leonard Wood region, Baptist churches after the war included Friendship, near Bloodland (established 1859), St. Anne, near Cookville (established 1900), Hopewell Baptist in Big Piney (established at least by 1869, see previous chapter), and Rolling Heath (Ensminger 1934: 95-96; Mottaz 1960: 37). In Waynesville there were two Baptist churches in the late-nineteenth-century, the H.E. South Baptist (established 1884) and the Missionary Baptist (established 1877) (Ensminger 1934: 95-97). Besides Baptists, the Methodists were also strong in this region. Methodists started a church early in Waynesville history. The founding members of this church included the Christensons, Tilleys, and Ballards all early and well-known Pulaski County families (Mottaz 1960: 38). Near these churches would appear cemeteries, many of which are being maintained by the U.S. Army today (see Pulaski County Historical Society 1984 and 1985 for an inventory of grave markers).

Almost immediately after the war (1867) farmers nationwide began joining the Grange Movement, partially in response to the railroad's price fixing (Hofstadter et al. 1967: 552). In Pulaski County, the Grange Movement began a few years later, around 1872, and by 1875 there were eight granges. However, the movement died out by 1885 (Goodspeed 1889: 119). Another such organization, the Agricultural Wheel, started in 1888 and grew to 928 members (Goodspeed 1889: 120). Exactly how many of the people in the Fort Leonard Wood region joined such farm organizations is not known, but considering that there were not many people farming full-time, it is doubtful that many participated from this area. In the early twentieth century many fraternal organizations were established in Pulaski County like the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, American Legion, and Woodmen of the World. In northern Pulaski County these organizations met in Richland, Crocker, and Dixon (Ensminger 1934: 76-78). Near the Fort Leonard Wood region there was a chapter of the I.O.O.F. in Waynesville (established 1903, membership in 1934 was 20), a chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star (established 1824 [but probably a typo], membership in 1934 was 70), and a Masonic Lodge (established 1888, membership in 1934 was 84). However, Fort Leonard Wood members of the I.O.O.F. probably met at the lodge at Big Piney which was established in 1898 or the one at Relfe (Helton 1988: 15). In an attempt to help the destitute of the county, a Poor Farm was established in 1876, two miles south of Waynesville. In 1889 it had 100 acres under cultivation and the buildings "are in somewhat inferior condition" (Goodspeed 1889: 120). The farm had four male, eight female inmates, two of them being of "unsound mind" (Goodspeed 1889: 120). The only doctor in the Fort Leonard Wood region was Dr. G.W. Stevenson, whose practice was located "twelve miles south of Waynesville" (Goodspeed 1889: 809).

A SUMMARY OF THE LATE-NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE

As a conclusion to this chapter it is useful to summarize the changes occurring across the landscape throughout the late-nineteenth century. The trends discussed here are based on what has been discussed above, but must be thought of as hypotheses rather than established conclusions. The late-nineteenth century in Pulaski County and the Fort Leonard Wood region was a time of change and reorganization. At the same time, much of what is now typified as Ozark folk culture became entrenched. First, there was a period of recovery which possibly lasted until the 1880s. During this period some of those whose lives had been disrupted by the war returned to start over. In northern Pulaski County, this recovery was given a boost by the completion of the railroad, creating markets for agricultural production and also bringing goods into the region. Exactly what level of material progress this brought to those in the Fort Leonard Wood region is not known. However, the railroad did bring a market for the timber in the region, and the area was changed as tie-hacking increased. As the trees were cut the land was opened or as Goodspeed (1889: 99) described his contemporary Pulaski County landscape the "land was largely open and unfenced." These open lands would soon become covered with brush and small trees, mostly oaks.

The railroad also brought people to the area and the county population increased to around 11,000 by 1910. The people who settled back into the area came from a different region of the country than those who preceded. The majority of immigrants were no longer from Kentucky and Tennessee, but rather from Indiana and Illinois. What effect this had on the culture is unknown and will require further research. However, if these settlers primarily were from southern Illinois, the effect would probably be minimal, since that area is culturally part of the Upland South.

With the increase in population, the hollows populated with homesteaders and the uplands also saw an increase in settlement in the Fort Leonard Wood region. It was the upland homesteaders that would increasingly turn to tie-hacking as they discovered the poor quality of the soils. The population increase brought roads and along the roads were found in increasing numbers churches, schoolhouses, and general stores. Much of the trade in these stores was probably still done through barter rather than cash. The people were a rough and ready bunch, and had to be because the isolation of the area created a refuge for the lawless. Added to this lawlessness was lingering resentment as a result of the Civil War. Throughout the nineteenth century, the area remained reminiscent of a frontier backcountry but the people living here were quite satisfied with their lives, their fortunes, and their culture. Almost everything they needed, they could get from the landscape. They cut and sold ties for cash to purchase anything they couldn't get (primarily sugar, flour, and coffee). By the twentieth century this lifestyle was well entrenched in the area.

It was also during this period that the Ozark cultural lifestyle probably solidified in the Pulaski County region, and especially the Fort Leonard Wood area. That is, prior to the Civil War, the wild and rough life of the Ozarks was in keeping with what might be considered "typical" of a frontier. Lawlessness, independence, self-reliance, freedom, mistrust of strangers, and willingness to defend one's convictions through direct action, were all characteristic of survival traits of a frontier existence that the early settlers brought with them to their new Ozark home. After the war, however, much of Missouri settled into a society where the law became stronger, public decisions were debated and settled in a political arena, disputes were settled through courts, and the population participated in market economies. While this kind of society existed in the Ozarks, a proud frontier culture also continued, again perhaps, a direct result of an isolating landscape. Regardless of the reasons, the author hypothesizes that during this time period, Ozark folk culture and legend, now famous today, became more entrenched within local society.

This Ozark folk culture is a fruitful area of inquiry for future research around Fort Leonard Wood. Making a living in the region was not easy. Tie-hackers are a case in point. These men worked hard dangerous jobs and played hard, drinking and fighting in order to be called the "best man" on the raft. Personal arguments were often settled directly and "it was considered quite proper to impinge a fistful of brute force upon his face or disarrange his system with whatever might happen to be lying around loose" (Liesman 1920: 2). Duels were not unusual. But the tie-hackers were only a single example of a rough frontier existence and the creation of a rich local folklore. For instance, according to some, Bloodland was called Bloodland not because of a man named Blood but because "many a bloody battle was held among the young men to establish whom to be the better man" (Pulaski County Historical Society 1982: 5).

Among the subsistence homesteaders, food was obtained only through one's own actions, and charity was not acceptable. Along with a strong Protestant ethic were beliefs attributable to Celtic heritage. These Ozark traits still exist today. For instance, one informant related that during his childhood in the 1950s and 1960s, "people still believed in little people in the forests, or druids, and were superstitious. If nothing was broke or bleeding, you didn't go to a doctor. Children were birthed at grandmother's house, and the common attitude was that you took care of yourself" (James Black, personal communication May 12, 1992).

CHAPTER IV:
THE LANDSCAPE EXHAUSTED: 1910 TO 1940

In 1912, Charles Ousley of Crocker, Missouri bought a red Chandler automobile, the first in Pulaski County (Wills 1968: 38). His purchase marked what must be seen as the halcyon days of Ozarkian culture in the county, and especially within the Fort Leonard Wood region. By 1910, the cultural landscape in the area of Fort Leonard Wood was, for the most part, as fully a developed rural community as it would ever be. There were still plenty of natural resources like trees and game animals to support the population with its backwoods lifestyle. The horrors of a guerrilla war had receded in the memories of the people to be replaced by stories of heros and honor (vide Fellman 1989). Though the soils were poor, a farmer could still raise a crop. The population and the number of acres of improved land were both near or at their peak. While it was still an isolated back country region, and would remain so until the U.S. Army built the fort, it could be argued that the population had reached the carrying capacity of the natural landscape. Across this landscape evidence of human occupation was everywhere, including dirt roads, tiny communities, and small neat farmsteads. Settlement was pervasive across this region, or as an informant stated, in the twentieth century "you will find houses every forty acres" (John Grinstead, personal communication May 18, 1992). But nowhere was this settlement dense. In the ensuing years up to 1940, the landscape changed as the trees almost disappeared from the landscape, the soils eroded, and faunal resources decreased. As the economic fortunes of the nation changed from the prosperous early twenties into the Depression thirties, the cultural and natural landscape would became stressed and finally almost exhausted. The evidence for this change will be seen everywhere in this chapter.

COSMOPOLITAN OZARKS

Population and Occupations

Although isolated and rural, the southern portion of Pulaski County was becoming increasingly tied to a national and world economy during the early twentieth century. For this reason the history of this region described herein was tied to the history and fortunes of a world expanding beyond Missouri. Rafferty (1980: 72; 1985: 8) has called the period from World War I up to the present, the Cosmopolitan Phase of human occupancy in the Ozarks. This was a period of time when the backwoods Ozarkian was introduced to the world, and the world was introduced to the Ozarks. While the railroads continued to play their part in taking out raw materials from Pulaski County like wood and agricultural products and bringing in modern

material goods, there were other factors which brought the two together. Most prominent was the arrival of mechanized transportation (autos, airplanes, farm machinery), World War I, prohibition, the Depression, and finally World War II. Within the Pulaski County, the railroad was still the central link to the national and world economy. While Waynesville (population 392 in 1934) was still considered "the seat of Pulaski County wealth and accordingly the home of the first aristocrats" (Ensminger 1934: 7-8), Richland (population 945), Crocker (population 522), and Dixon (population 721) along the railroad line were growing, thriving communities of increasingly greater importance to the county's economy (Ensminger 1934: 34). Though probably unnoticed by the local population, the southern portion of the county was being left behind in terms of development and modern improvements. For most of the people and landscape in southern Pulaski County, the building of the fort would bring about the most dramatic change during this time.

The county population peaked around 1910, leveled off thereafter (Table 4.1). There was a noticeable drop in the population between 1910 and 1920, with a slight recovery through 1940. Within the region that was to become Fort Leonard Wood, the population of Roubidoux and Piney Townships decreased between 1920 and 1930, to recover only slightly by 1940 (Table 4.2). A more detailed examination of the population density in the county, however, demonstrates how the southern portion of the county was becoming increasingly more distinct from the northern portion. In 1930, the population per square mile in Pulaski County was 19.8, not nearly as dense as counties along the Missouri like Franklin at 34.7 and Cole at 79.3, but not as sparsely-settled as other Ozark counties like Texas at 16 and Dent at 14.7 (Ensminger 1934: 20). However, looking at Pulaski County on a township level, it is noticeable that the northern railroad townships (Tavern, Liberty, Union) were significantly more dense in population than the southern townships (Cullen, Roubidoux, Piney) or the area that would contain Fort Leonard Wood (Table 4.3). The sparse population in southern Pulaski is especially evident when considering that Cullen Township included Waynesville and the main corridor of road transportation through the county. This area was a logical location of steady, increasing population as roads improved and automobile transportation became more important. Taking this into account, the population south of this main road started and remained low and sparse throughout the twentieth century as it had been in the nineteenth.

TABLE 4.1
POPULATION FIGURES FOR
PULASKI COUNTY: 1910 TO 1940

DATE	WHITE	BLACK	TOTALS
1910	11,416	22	11,438
1920	10,476	14	10,476
1930	10,749	6	10,755
1940	10,772	3*	10,775

*These three individuals lived in Cullen Township (U.S. Census of Population 1920, 1940).

TABLE 4.2
POPULATION FIGURES FOR: TOWNSHIPS
CULLEN, ROUBIDOUX, PINEY
1910 TO 1940

DATE	CULLEN	ROUBIDOUX	PINEY	TOTAL
1910	2,091	980	1,040	4,111 (35%)
1920	1,840	853	880	3,573 (34%)
1930	2,200	695	820	3,715 (34%)
1940	2,488	711	810	4,009 (37%)

(U.S. Census of Population 1920, 1940).

TABLE 4.3
POPULATION
DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE FOR PULASKI COUNTY
TOWNSHIPS: 1920 AND 1930
(all data from Ensminger 1934: 21,22,102)

	TAVRN	UN.	LIB.	CUL.	ROUB.	PINEY
SIZE*	90	81	106	141	61	63
1920	23.7	25	26	13	14	14
1930	25.8	25.3	25	15.7	11.4	13

*Size in square miles.

The effect of the railroad going across the northern section of the county was still evident in that the population of this southern section never was more than 37% of the total county population (Table 4.2).

A review of the occupational breakdown of Pulaski County in 1930 gives a detailed picture of the continuing rural character of the county. The total population of the county in 1930 was 10,755, with 3,219 males, and 341 females listed as "10 years old and over engaged in gainful occupations" (Ensminger 1934: 123). Of those counted, 2,064 males were farmers or farm laborers (64%) (1,348 as farm owners or tenants and 713 as laborers), 21 were in forestry and fishing, 68 were in mining, 87 were in the building industry, and 23 worked in saw mills (Ensminger 1934: 123). Other male occupations which employed 20 or more individuals included 23 listed as "independent hand trades," 97 in "construction and maintenance of streets, etc.," 61 working at garages and greasing stations, 29 male postal workers, 55 railroad workers, 21 men working the telegraph and telephones, 68 men in "other transportation and communication jobs," 199 males in wholesale or retail trade, 31 men working in filling stations or automobile agencies, 72 in professional or semiprofessional service, 21 males at restaurants or boarding houses, and 141 in "other" jobs (Ensminger 1934: 123). Of the 341 females listed, 69 (20%) of them were in farming (54 as owners or tenants and 16 as laborers), 40 in wholesale or retail trade, 71 in "other professional and semiprofessional service," and 68 in "other domestic or personal service" (Ensminger 1934: 123). Other professions listed for females included two in the paper or printing industry, six in "independent hand trades," six postal

workers, nine telegraph and telephone workers, six in recreation and amusement, and four in banking and brokerage (Ensminger 1934: 123).

Focusing on Piney Township, a survey of the occupations listed on the 1910 Census confirms that the population within the Fort Leonard Wood region mimicked other Ozark regions during the early-twentieth century. In 1910, 168 males listed their occupation as farmers on general farms, and 136 others (mostly sons of farmers) were listed as farm laborers. Other occupations included nine retail merchants (general stores), five tie-makers and five tie rafters, four men with independent incomes, three mail carriers, three laborers, two teachers, two physicians, two salesmen, two carpenters, a stock runner, a stable manager, a hired hand, a blacksmith, an engineer at a sawmill, a store manager, a bank cashier, and a retail salesman (general store). Occupations listed for females included three servants, two dressmakers, two telephone operators, and a photograph artist. There were 209 families in 208 dwellings in Piney Township, and of those, 134 were home owners and 73 were renters (Genealogy Society of Pulaski County Missouri 1987).

A glance at the census from Roubidoux Township indicates an identical pattern, with some unique additions like two private cooks (female), two washer women, a chamber maid, a poultry man, a miller, and a patent medicine salesman. Also included are five women listing housekeeping as their occupation, only one of which was with a private family. Of the 187 dwellings listed in the census of Roubidoux Township, there were 187 families, 123 of which owned their homes, and 61 rented (three did not report). In both townships, renters were in a little over a third of the dwellings (35% in Piney and 34% in Roubidoux), the rest were owned family farms.

The five tie-hackers and five tie-rafters noted above highlight the fate of this profession in the Fort Leonard Wood region. The age of tie-hacking came to a close in the 1920s (Rafferty 1980: 177) following the general economic fortunes of the county, and the exhaustion of most of the good timber in the area. Like farming, the greatest days of the tie industry would be during World War I (Arthur 1940: 33). During that time railroad companies were buying ties a $1.25 per tie, and the men who guided the great rafts down the Big Piney, like 'Stubb' Borders, were men of legend and power. But by around 1922, few raft journeys were being made and Arthur places the last raft trip around 1927 (Arthur 1940: 68). Joseph Turpin states that along with tie-hacking, "Small portable saw mills moved across the county in the 1900s and exhausted most of the timber suitable for rough lumber and stave bolts" (Turpin n.d: ii). However, no other reference to this kind of timbering has been found. It is noted that the timber in the area was used for stave bolts as well as ties.

Interestingly, only ten men listed their occupations as tie-hackers in Piney Township, supporting previous statements that the "profession" of tie-hacking was not a full-time job for most in the county, but rather one of many activities people engaged in for extra cash. Residents of the Fort Leonard Wood area continued to cut timber right up to the time of the building of the fort, though by 1941, the timber was nearly extinct (Routh 1941: 3-4). During the period between the end of the great rafting days and the arrival of the U.S. Army, ties were hauled by wagons or by trucks as families needed extra cash. Whereas the ties used to be hauled to Arlington and rafted down river to St. Louis, ties and posts were now hauled to Crocker or sometimes Newburg or Salem (York and York 1975: 14). Joseph Nelson, a school teacher at Big Piney, Missouri during the 1930s, describes a typical Ozark scene one morning when he first arrived in the county:

> A pair of lean post-cutters waved at us as we met them on their way to some cedar break. Burdened with bucksaws and axes and splitting hammers- the handles black with cedar gum- and pockets sagging with wedges, they were hurrying to get in some good licks in the coolness. The posts would end up in Kansas or Iowa, and pull some local farmer through a lean period. For their own use here men cut oak posts which far outlasted the cedar though it was not so smooth and pretty (Nelson 1949: 46).

Farmers sold the posts for a profit of three to five cents above the cost of cutting the trees and, according to Nelson, "...this was what kept many of them eating and off relief" (Nelson 1949: 106).

Another "profession" which became legendary during the twenties and thirties was moonshining. The Temperance Movement began gaining strength in Missouri during the late-nineteenth century and by 1889, 50 of Missouri's counties were dry. By 1917 this number had increased to 96 (Meyer 1963: 434). In 1919, the Prohibition Amendment was passed, creating a local market for moonshine. A moonshiner could make a "good living," during this time (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992). As noted in the previous chapter, stills were a common occurrence around the Ozark farmstead since the initial settlement of the area, and making such a normal activity illegal, probably only made it taste better to the average anti-regulation backwoodsman in Pulaski County. In fact, many reputable people made whiskey in the area. An old gentleman interviewed in 1920 noted that "whiskey has improved only in price since the day when 20 cents would buy a gallon of it and it was a shiftless man who did not own a still" (Liesman 1920: 2).

Bootleggers were difficult to catch in the rugged southern portion of the county. One can imagine that it became especially dangerous for a stranger to walk in the woods during this time, for if they stumbled onto a still in some hollow, they themselves might become part of the natural landscape. Bootleggers were not only hard to catch, they were almost impossible to convict. Bootlegging was so

common among the population that any jury called to session would contain enough fellow bootleggers to insure that the defendant would soon be free to disappear into the hills. Even the authorities made something off Prohibition. As bottles and jars were hard to get, the sheriff would sell the containers, mostly canning jars, confiscated during an arrest. No doubt he knew the going price for such hard-to-get glassware. The contents would be poured out in the street, giving Waynesville a distinctive odor on court days (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992). By 1933, prohibition was an admitted failure and it was repealed, but the moonshining tradition continued.

The 1930s brought the Missouri and United States government directly into the lives of the people of southern Pulaski County as it never had before. The Depression, which will be looked at in detail below, caused great hardship on the people, but the natural landscape was also suffering as a result of the removal of the timber. Conservationists note that the deer population was almost eliminated from Missouri by the late 1930s (Hansen 1992: 17). Erosion of the topsoils was a serious problem in the Ozarks, and within the areas of Fort Leonard Wood where there was little good farmland anyway, the problem was acute. With the election of Franklin Roosevelt, the problems of rural Missourians became the federal government's problem. Several legislative efforts were completed to bring relief to the nation, most critical to those within the Fort Leonard Wood region were the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, the Civilian Conservation Corps, also established in 1933, and the Sub-marginal Land Acquisition Program in the mid-1930s (Grinstead 1991: n.p.; Hofstadter et al. 1967: 721-724; Salmond 1967: 2-25). The Agricultural Adjustment Act paid farmers to withdraw acreage from production and the Sub-marginal Land Acquisition Act allowed the Department of Agriculture to purchase poor lands in order to retire them from use preventing further erosion. Another important event was the establishment of the Mark Twain National Forest in 1933. One of the first tracts purchased by the Forest Service was the Gasconade Unit which included the land within modern Fort Leonard Wood (Malouf 1991: 5; Writers Program 1941: 416). Within this area the Civilian Conservation Corps began to establish camps.

In 1935 there were 15 camps in Missouri (Otis et al. 1986: 61), but by the end of the CCC's existence, their were some 23 camps alone established within the Mark Twain National Forest (Malouf 1991: 24). Within the Fort Leonard Wood area there were at least three camps. Fort Leonard Wood forester John Grinstead states that modern Training Area 206 was the location of a CCC camp, which the U.S. Army made into the German POW camp during World War II (John Grinstead, personal communication May 18, 1992). This camp is shown on a 1942 (Revised 1944) topographic map (Figure 4.1), exactly as noted by Grinstead. This may be the same CCC camp, numbered camp 3757 in a 1941 report on the region just prior to it becoming Fort Leonard Wood (Routh 1941: 20). There was also a camp dating around 1933-1934 at Palace, south of the modern installation gate (Helton 1988: 101; York and York 1975:



Figure 4.1 Close-up of 1942 (Revised 1944) U.S. Army Engineer Map of Fort Leonard Wood, Showing CCC camp and road system (on file DEH, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri).

157). A little farther away, Camp 1732 called Blooming Rose, was near the village of Duke and Blooming Rose School. This was across the Big Piney River in Phelps County (Happy Days Publishing Company 1938: 76). Locally, Civilian Conservation Corps employees built and improved roads, many of which still exist today. They also built fire towers. Within the modern Fort Leonard Wood boundaries there were fire towers built at Wharton and Bloodland (Malouf 1991: 69). In 1936 there were three enrollees in the Civilian Conservation Corps whose home was within the modern installation. The number of local enrollees for the following four years were: 1) 1937- 4; 2) 1938- 4; 3) 1939- 10; and 4) 1940- 12 (Mussan 1941: 64).

The Forest Service continued to purchase properties up until the time of the fort in 1941. As might be expected, government intrusion into the lives of independent, self-sufficient folk like those around the area was not always accepted. Grudge fires, long used in the Ozarks to intimidate an enemy, or to settle a perceived wrong, were set on Forest Service property in an attempt to thwart the efforts of the Service (John Grinstead, personal communication May 18, 1992).

Agriculture in the Twentieth Century

At the turn of the twentieth century and for the first two decades thereafter, Missouri farmers were experiencing prosperous times. As an agricultural state, Missouri ranked second among the states in the number of farms in 1900 (Writers Project 1941: 69), and its fortunes were tied to crop, dairy and animal markets. At that time, livestock was the chief product on half of Missouri's farms, butter was becoming an increasingly important commodity, and Missouri ranked fifth among the states in corn production (Writers Project 1941: 69). This agricultural prosperity continued up through the First World War, which inflated prices. In 1919, wheat was selling for $2.09 a bushel and corn for $1.38 a bushel (Meyer 1963: 566). In a desire to take advantage of the high prices farmers cleared increasingly more land for agricultural production and mortgaged their property to buy new equipment. But these prosperous years were balanced by a bust in the early 1920s driving many farmers to bankruptcy. For the agricultural community, the bad years began in the early 1920s, and they did not get better for a long time.

Though early in the twentieth century the farmer's hard work was rewarding, many rural people were drawn to the cities. Between 1910 and 1920, Missourians began to leave the farm and settle in urban areas where money and credit were easier to obtain. While prosperity may have begun this migration, the bad times certainly continued it. In 1920, 46.6% of the state's population was urban, by 1930, 51.2% were urban (Meyer 1963: 596-597). Also causing this migration was the lack of rural jobs. Tenancy increased as farmers lost their farms to the declining economy, meanwhile increased mechanization meant that rural jobs were decreasing. The 1930s brought continued hardships on Missourians. Nationwide,

"total income for rural America had dropped so that farmers had only one-half the purchasing power they had enjoyed a decade earlier" (Meyer 1963: 632). Between 1930 and 1934, 18,000 Missouri farms were seized for taxes (Meyer 1963: 632). By 1939, there were 70,000 fewer farms in Missouri than in 1900 (Writer's Program 1941: 70). Added to the economic miseries of the nation, droughts occurred in 1930, 1934, and 1936.

In Pulaski County, and especially around the Fort Leonard Wood area, the bad times may have come even earlier, around World War I. York and York (1975: 82) relate the thoughts and fate of a typical southern Pulaski County homesteader, "times were hard in Pulaski County back during the war," and times continued that way afterward. "He [Uncle Newt] and my dad went coon hunting a lot at night. Fur hides were a good price and jobs and money were hard to come by. Our livestock 'ran out' because we didn't have a stock law in the county then" (York and York 1975: 82). Eventually, after a drought in the late 1920s destroyed their crops, the York family sold out and moved to Arkansas.

During the early twentieth century, general farming continued in the Ozarks, although specialized farming was also present (Rafferty 1980: 154). In Pulaski County, dairy farming and raising cattle became one of the more prominent speciality farms and placed Pulaski County in the "Ozark Meat Production" region (Ensminger 1934: 132). During this period (1930), 25.4% of Pulaski County agricultural land was in cultivation, 31.2% in pasture, and 3.2% in woodland according to the U.S. Census (Ensminger 1934: 133). However, of the 88,163 acres classified as "cultivated land," 35.4% of it was also listed as "pasture" according to the U.S. Census figures quoted by Ensminger (Ensminger 1934: 134). Exactly what the census distinction was between pasture and cultivated pasture land is not known, but this does indicate that the land devoted to pasture was extensive. The dominant crop was corn, which occupied 28.3% of the cultivated land (Ensminger 1934: 134). Within the Fort Leonard Wood region, general farming was found in the bottomlands. Subsistence farming continued also, especially in the uplands. Cattle and dairy farming also started in this upland region among those who owned the larger farms. During the 1930s, tomatoes became a popular crop among the farmers in the prairie areas around Bloodland, and where a tomato canning factory was built. Rafferty (1980: 158) classifies these tomato farms as truck farms although herein they are considered a type of specialty farm.

Census data for Pulaski County animal and other agricultural commodities do not clearly show the hardships encountered by the farmer through the first half of the twentieth century (Tables 4.4 and 4.5). However, some trends are evident. While the number of horses, sheep and swine drop over this period, beef cattle increase, supporting the discussion above. Dairy products, which became an important industry during the first two decades of the twentieth century in the Ozarks, does not show the expected rise in the

milch cow and butter categories. Corn continued as the most prevalent crop, oats make a major increased around the prosperous early 1920s and wheat production increases in 1940.

Farm size and ownership gives a clearer picture of the woes of farmers during this period of time. Table 4.6 and 4.7 demonstrate these trends. The number of farms decreased slightly, especially small farms. Ensminger (1934: 137) notes that the number of farms under 50 acres was 304 in 1920 and 290 in 1930. The average farm size, however remained steady, at approximately 152.7 acres in 1920 and 151.9 in 1930 (Ensminger 1934: 137). The percent of tenancy is the most striking figure. While the number of farm owners decreased only slightly, the number of tenants rose in the county to as high as 31% by 1940.

But the statistics noted above represented the entire county. A study of the Fort Leonard Wood area conducted by the U.S. Department of the Interior provides a detailed look at the agricultural landscape just prior to its conversion to an army installation. The author notes the location and type of crops grown locally.

> The land in the area that is devoted to the production of crops is devoted largely to the river and creek bottoms although some of the ridge land is farmed. On the ridge land there is very little corn produced, some sweet sorghum, and millet, a small amount of wheat and oats and a very little barley. Legumes have seldom been found on the ridge land with the exception of lespedeza. Lespedeza seems to be the crop that is most widely grown on the ridge land and it is utilized mainly for pasture although occasionally one will find where some has been harvested for hay and seed. The crop on the bottom farms is devoted largely to the production of corn although there is an occasional field of red and sweet clover and some wheat. A noticeable thing found was the fact that a large per cent of the corn was white rather than yellow (Mussan 1941: 13).

The study provides a very graphic picture of the agricultural conditions in and around the Fort Leonard Wood region. Mussan goes on to discuss the local livestock in 1941 confirming the importance of cattle in the region's agricultural character. He states that "Although livestock production is the chief source of income for the farmers of the area, thirty-five per cent of them had less than six animal units upon which dependence for a livelihood was placed" (Mussan 1941: 67). Even the livestock they had was of poor quality according to Mussan. "This is especially true of the farms on the ridges. It is a common site to see a heard of cattle or flock of sheep that are being mated with sires of very inferior quality and breed type" (Mussan 1941: 16). Further, "For the most part the appearance of the livestock would indicate that parasite

TABLE 4.4
ANIMAL PRODUCTION
FOR PULASKI COUNTY: 1910-1940

Year	Horses	Mules	Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Swine
1910	4,750	1,314	4,217	9,479	15,722	19,557
1920	4,280	1,496	4,627	12,264	6,356	19,235
1930	2,577	1,304	3,693	17,316	8,099	11,609
1940	2,175	758	4,796	15,565	4,327	13,720

(U.S. Census of Agriculture 1920, 1940).

TABLE 4.5
CROP PRODUCTION FOR PULASKI COUNTY: 1910-1940

Year	Wool*	Wheat	Corn	Oats	Butter*
1910	—	28,349	673,300	12,835	230,773
1920	24,909	—	372,799	40,301	178,270
1930	21,642	13,563	585,252	15,634	134,574
1940	19,833	43,107	467,240	20,854	113,857

*Wool and butter in pounds, others in bushels (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1920, 1940).

TABLE 4.6
FARM SIZES IN PULASKI COUNTY:
1910-1940

Year	# Farms	≥3	3-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-499	500+
1910	1,696	2	38	47	304	453	833	19
1920	1,454	9	15	41	239	346	762	42
1930	1,454	7	39	39	205	308	817	39
1940	1,570	-	70	122*	195*	343	800	52

*Data collection methods differed from decade to decade. In 1940, these categories were broken down as 10-29 and 30-50 (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1910-1940).

TABLE 4.7
FARM OWNERS AND TENANTS
PULASKI COUNTY:
1910-1940

Year	Farms	Owners	Mangers	Csh Tnts	Shr. Tnts	% Tntcy
1910	1,696	1,254	11	99	332	25
1920	1,454	1,104	15	67	268	23
1930	1,454	1,045	6	22	311	28
1940	1,570	1,073	2	200	295	32

(U.S. Census of Agriculture 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940).

control is being seriously neglected" (Mussan 1941: 16). Discussing the need to improve livestock quality, he notes that "Not much can be expected along this line until the stock is segregated in the pastures and prevented from running on the range where scrub males prevent any systematic development" (Mussan 1941: 74). Pulaski County closed open-range grazing just prior to World War II, while Texas County, south of Pulaski, would not close grazing until the 1950s (John Grinstead, personal communication May 18, 1992).

Roads and Transportation

Roads improved significantly during the twentieth century in Pulaski County and in the Fort Leonard Wood region. The causes for their development locally were due to: 1) a statewide movement to refurbish roads, especially along postal routes (Rafferty 1980: 108); 2) the arrival of the automobile as a main means of transportation; 3) Depression projects like the C.C.C.; and, 4) a proliferation of roads built during the construction of the fort. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the appearance of automobiles along the dusty backroads of Missouri were a vivid sign of the changes to come to these isolated rural areas. William York remembers "running about a quarter of a mile to Ben Posten's place to see a car or truck pass along" around the beginning of World War I (York and York 1975: 81). At that same time, in the skies above, airplanes were first seen and caused an equally dramatic sensation (York and York 1975: 82).

The first major attempt to improve the roads by the government in Missouri came in 1921 when the Centennial Road Act was passed to create a network of roads connecting county seats (Rafferty 1980: 109). This effort improved the Old Springfield Highway which later became Route 66, constructed between 1923 and 1928 (Rafferty 1980: 110). York and York note that the route was paved by around 1930 (York

and York 1975: 105). In 1958 the general route became I-44. Rafferty (1980: 111) calls this route "the great transportation corridor of the Ozarks." Indeed, despite the railroad, the road continued to play an important part in the opening up of the Ozarks, and with the arrival of the automobile, the road once again became the dominant route for goods coming into and out of the Ozarks.

In 1927 the local road construction effort was boosted by a bond issue to construct farm to market roads, which built gravel roads through areas not reached by the primary roads (Rafferty 1980: 109). This act provided the impetus to improve Highway 17 which was the old Houston Road, and ran through the Fort Leonard Wood area from Waynesville, through Bloodland and south to the Texas County seat of Houston. The improvement of this road was quite welcome by the local residents, and not only for easing their trips to Waynesville. As Nelson explains, "The new farm to market road which the W.P.A. was building was bringing steady pay to several Big Piney families" (Nelson 1949: 203). Eventually, the road was re-routed in the 1950s, north of Bloodland. South of Bloodland, the road remains primarily as it was originally routed (John Grinstead, personal communication May 18, 1992).

The building of these roads and the purchase of automobiles probably had as profound an impact on the isolated character of this region of the Ozarks as did the railroad in the late-nineteenth century. Even more significant to the residents in the Fort Leonard Wood area was the improvement of the smaller dirt roads leading off Highway 17, along the ridgetops, and down into the Roubidoux and Big Piney valleys. These roads were improved by the W.P.A. and the C.C.C. (York and York 1975: 157). As one resident said, "Up to the time the area was chosen for the fort there had been little change except that the building of roads had made life less primitive" (Behymer 1941). Routh (1941: 4) adds "The county and W.P.A. built roads through the woods and hills until now most of them [residents living within the Fort Leonard Wood area] can drive an old Ford to town instead of walking." Some 45% of the residents in the area had automobiles by 1941 (Mussan 1941: 67). In Bloodland, these autos could be serviced at Moore's Service Station or O'Quin's Service Station (Works Progress Administration 1935-1942: Folder 17364).

The road system in and around Fort Leonard Wood during the first half of the twentieth century is illustrated very well in a series of maps dating after 1920. Figure 4.2 shows a close-up of a county-wide plat map, probably dating to the late 1920s and early thirties. This date is based on: 1) the advertisements surrounding the maps; 2) the fact that the map shows Wharton and Wildwood post offices which closed in 1933; and 3) none of the land was platted in Forest Service ownership. The map shows the main county roads noted in the previous chapters plus a few roads leading away from the old Houston Road. The map also is useful for showing the location of houses. The map indicates that there were still a number of houses located off the main county road system.

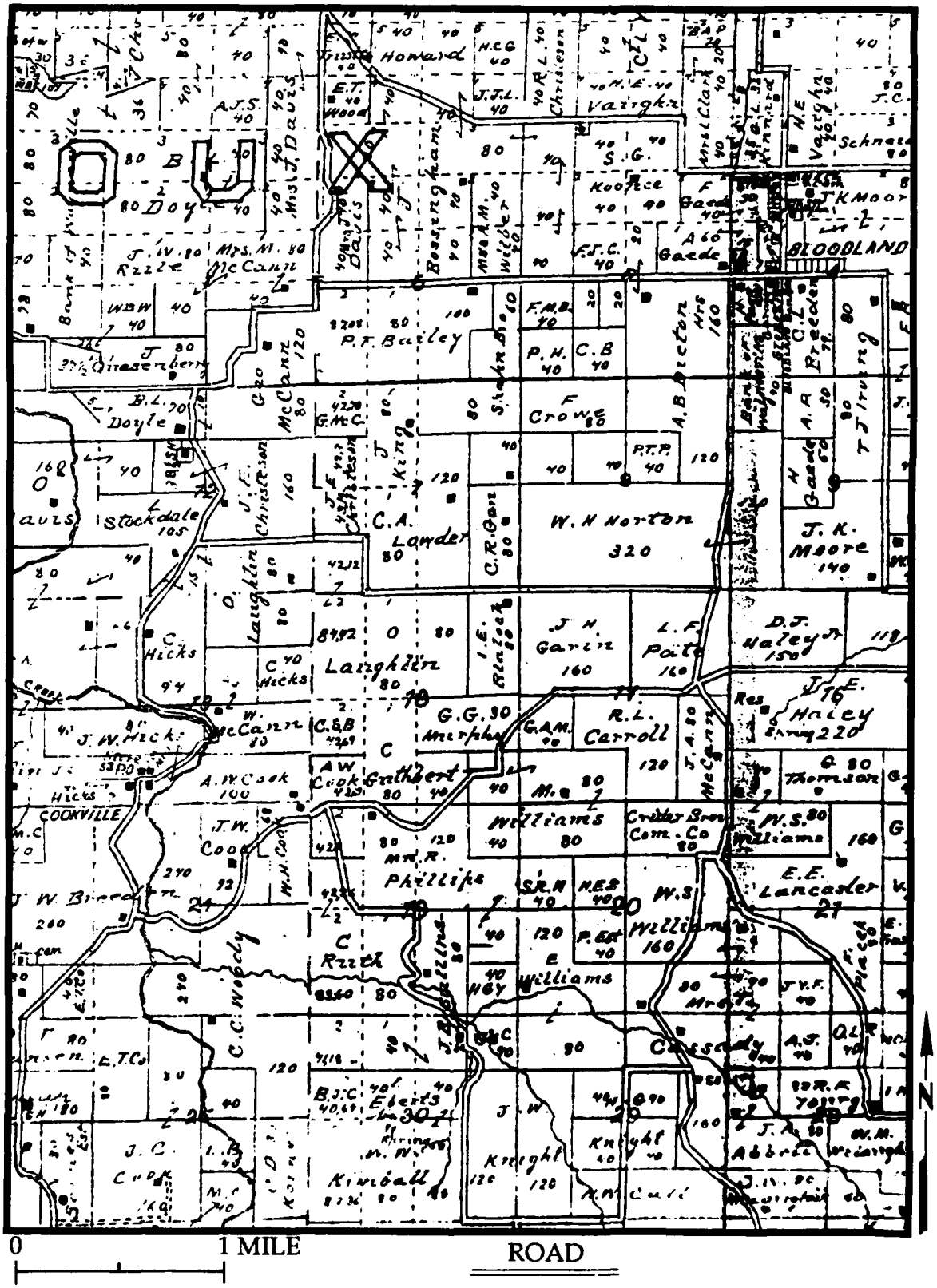


Figure 4.2 Close-up of Plat Map of Pulaski County, Missouri (on File, Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Division of Geology and Land Survey, Rolla, Missouri).

In contrast to this map, a 1938 county road map (Figure 1.2) shows the primary road network in and around the Fort Leonard Wood area at that time. If this map shows the complete road system, it indicates that the W.P.A. and C.C.C. works was primarily focused toward improving existing roads rather than building new ones since the pattern of the primary roads is similar to that seen on the 1920s map (Figure 4.2) and maps at the turn of the century (see previous chapter). More likely though, this map does not show the most crude, private roads leading off into the hillsides. A 1940 tourist map illustrates this same point, and highlights the little communities and trading centers in the area, providing a wealth of information on place names (Figure 4.3).

The 1940 (Revised 1944) Corps of Engineers topographic map of Fort Leonard Wood best illustrates the road and settlement patterns at that time (Figure 4.1). Route 66 is shown as a heavy duty hard-surfaced road, and Highway 17 is shown as a secondary hard-surfaced road. The map shows only two secondary hard-surfaced roads. One is Highway H, which skirts along the western edge of the fort, along the Roubidoux and then southeast out of the valley near Hanna to join Highway 17 south of Bloodland. The other is Highway D which enters the fort on the east side, crossing the Big Piney near Hale cemetery and Spring Creek. All other roads shown are dirt roads. These dirt roads have no apparent pattern in the uplands around Bloodland and the cantonment area. However, as the dirt roads approached the Roubidoux or the Big Piney, they inevitably begin to follow the ridge tops, and then plunge down into the river valleys when they reach the end of the ridgeline next to the rivers. Once in the river valleys these roads either cross the river immediately and go up the opposite hillside or they hug the interface between the hillsides and the river valley. Placing the roads near the hillsides probably kept them safe from flooding during heavy rains, and also kept the road from using up the only truly rich farmland in the area. This map also illustrates the settlement pattern immediately prior to the fort. Most of the houses then were located along the ridge top roads. Occasionally, there were houses along the river bottoms and in the hollows, but it is evident that these houses, like the roads, hugged the interface between the valleys and the hills. When located in the hollows, there were trails leading up to the roads along the ridges.

Towns, Villages and Trading Centers

The major growing early-twentieth communities in Pulaski County, like Richland, Dixon, Crocker and Waynesville, were all to the north of the Fort Leonard Wood area. Waynesville, however, was close enough to get some of the local area's business. By 1930, Waynesville had banks, a post office and a telegraph station. Peter York and J.E. Robinson ran sorghum mills there, and Volner and Son employed twelve people making barrel staves (Ensminger 1934: 120). There was also Doolins Feed Mill. Of course, Waynesville still was the center of government with the courthouse remaining there. Waynesville also had the only doctor near the Fort Leonard Wood area in 1934, Dr. Charles A. Talbot. (Within the entire county

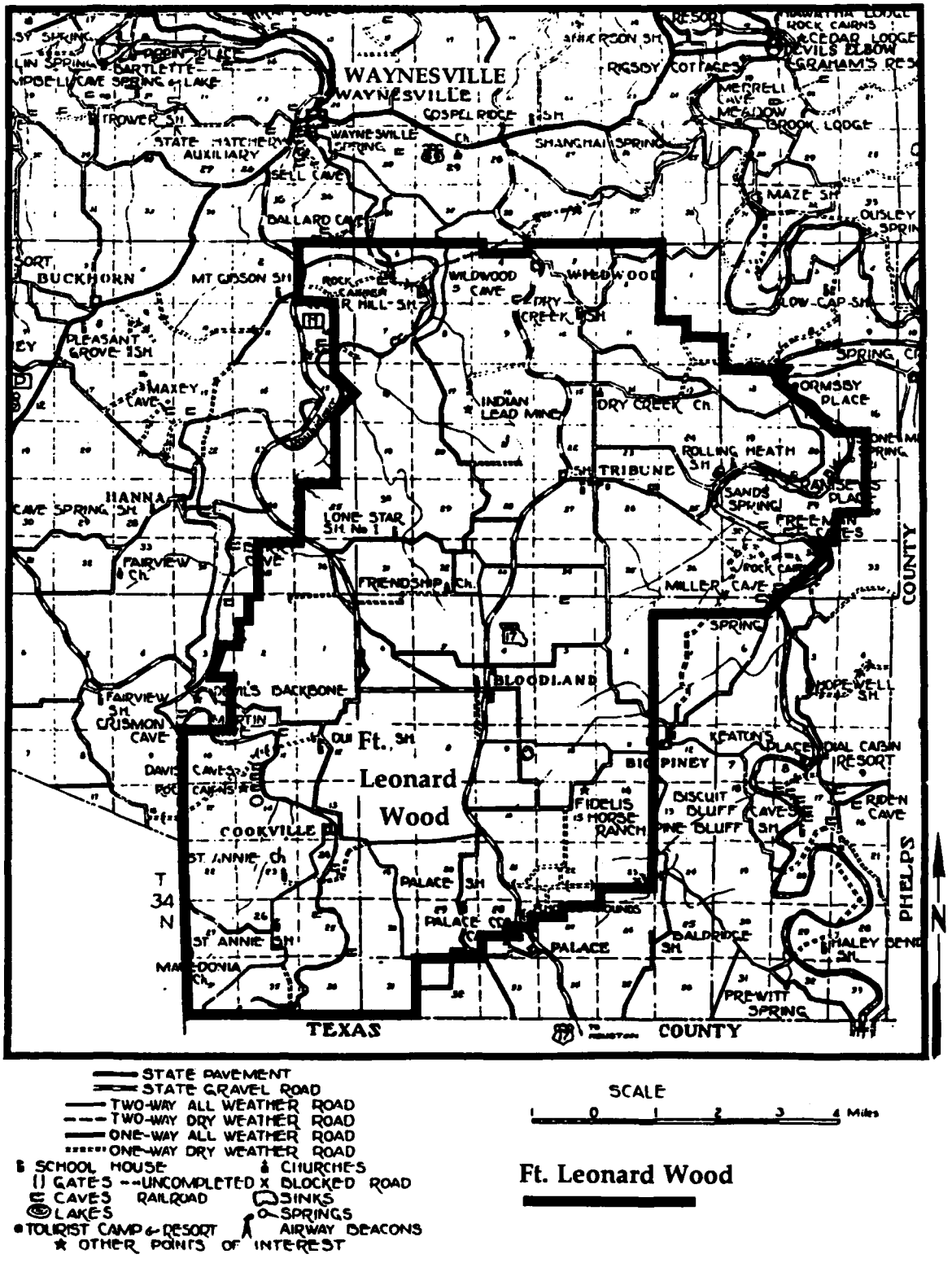


Figure 4.3 Tourist map of Pulaski County, Missouri, 1940 (Road and Resources Survey of Pulaski County).

there were only nine doctors and no hospitals.) Waynesville continued to have a newspaper, the Pulaski County Democrat, although it was now in competition with the Crocker News, the Dixon Pilot, and the Richland Mirror (Ensminger 1934: 115). A 1941 Guide to the state describes Waynesville:

> It has a leisurely atmosphere, unmarred by the smoke of industry and the impatient panting of trains, and but little jarred by farmers' Saturday visits or meetings of the county court. Hill people buy their blue denim and flour, their coffee, salt, and sugar, with unhurried deliberation. Between purchases they talk. All are called by first names, except the very old. These receive the title of "uncle" or "aunt," and are always referred to by both given name and surname as "Uncle Jim Corbin (Writers Program 1941: 417).

Unlike many of the communities in the Fort Leonard Wood area, Waynesville grew in population during the 1930s, from 392 in 1930 to 468 by 1940 (Ensminger 1934: 119; Writers Program 1941: 417). Though Waynesville continued to serve the needs of many of the residents in the Fort Leonard Wood area, within the area itself, Bloodland grew to become the largest village.

By 1930, Bloodland had a population of 100 people (Ensminger 1934: 104). One reference states that Bloodland had a population as high as 400, but this is obviously wrong (vide Works Progress Administration 1935-1942: Folder 17364). Two maps exist of the town, one of which is illustrated here and was drawn by an unknown cartographer for the Army Museum (Figure 4.4). The other is illustrated in the book by York and York 1975. Both show a wide range of stores, mills and services available to the local people. Some of the more noteworthy buildings are a barber shop, a bank, two churches- M. E. South and Friendship Baptist- McGlaughlin Sorghum Mill, Anderson Grist Mill, Hilton Grist Mill, and Moses Brothers Stove Mill with twelve employees, and several stores, including a gasoline station. Also noted is a tomato canning factory. From around 1924 to 1932, "about everyone around Bloodland raised tomatoes (York and York 1975: 158). Both men and women worked at the factory, the men scalded the tomatoes and the women peeled them and put them in cans. They got ten cents per hour for their efforts (York and York 1975: 158). Meanwhile, at the Bloodland Stave Mill, built somewhere between 1929 and 1931 and operating until around 1937, laborers got 12 and one half cents an hour (York and York 1975: 158). They sold the stave bolts, 10 to 16 inches and weighing in at 100 pounds, for around nine cents a foot.

For the area, Bloodland was a cosmopolitan little village. Though it had no hotels for visitors, there were several tourist camps, like "Dials Resort" and "Keatons Place," nearby along the Big Piney, and Bloodland served as a source of supplies for these recreation spots (Works Progress Administration 1935-1942: Folder 17364). this village had its own doctor, named Cyrus Mallett (Pulaski County Historical

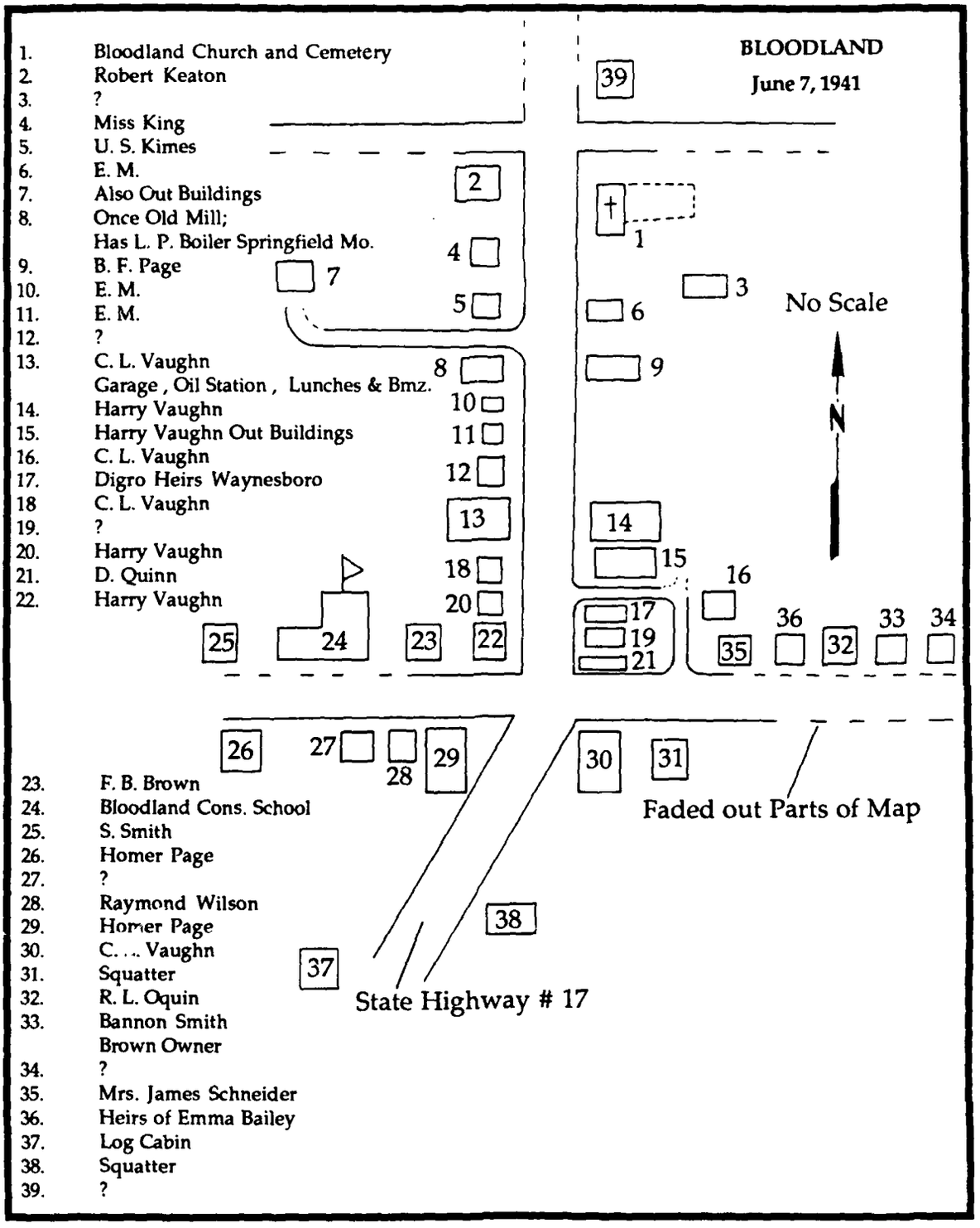


Figure 4.4 Bloodland drawn by unknown informant (on file, U.S. Army Engineer Museum, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri).

Society, Volume II 1982: 11). However when Mallet practiced is not clear as he is not listed in the 1934 Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission study of Pulaski County. In 1927, a tornado tore through the area destroying several buildings. This same tornado "completely destroyed a small town east of here" (Works Progress Administration 1935-1942, Folder 17364). This may have been Big Piney. While Bloodland survived, it may not have grown much during the Depression, for sources note that its population was still only 100 to 120 souls in 1940 (Anon. n.d.: Pulaski County Historical Society, Volume II: 43-44).

As one of the largest concentrations of people in the area, Bloodland became the local gathering place for picnics and festivals. Circuses were also very popular. One of the bigger gatherings was the annual Fourth of July picnic, noted in the Neighborhood News section of the Pulaski County Democrat in 1902; "Quite a number of Cookville and St. Annie people enjoyed themselves at Bloodland on the fourth (Pulaski County Democrat 1902: 7). These picnics were also notorious for ending in violent fist fights, and sometimes someone was killed (George Lane, personal communication May 16, 1992; Harry Morgan, personal communication May 18, 1992). Bloodland even had its own crime spree. Reminiscent of Bonnie and Clyde, in 1923 three young men, Alfred Smith, Arthur Ray, and Rueben Walters arrived in a stolen car stolen from Kansas and robbed the post office of a few dollars, grabbed some clothing from a general store, and headed for Dixon, Missouri. According to legend, some 50 to 100 Bloodland citizens, which must have been most of the town, took after them but were held in check by the boys' fire from a .22 caliber pistol. The authorities eventually caught them a mile southeast of Dixon (Van Beydler 1989: 15).

Beyond Bloodland, there was only one other community that might qualify for village status in the Fort Leonard Wood area and this was Big Piney. (Again, Big Piney is not physically located within the current Fort Leonard Wood installation, but it abuts the eastern boundary, and as one of the earliest communities in the area has an integral part in the local history.) Big Piney, like Bloodland, also had a population of around 100 people during the 1930s, with a post office and telegraph station (Ensminger 1934: 104). A tour guide of the state describes Big Piney as "...a tiny crossroads village" (Writers Program 1941: 417). The village also boasted a church and school. Although not listed in the 1934 study by the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission (Ensminger 1934), Nelson's autobiographical novel of his life as a school teacher in Big Piney notes that there were two molasses (sorghum) mills in the village (Nelson 1949: 132). Nelson describes the village as consisting of a "...store-post office, a smithy, church, grade school, and a clump of farmer's houses (Nelson 1949: 64). Nelson's book gives the reader a vivid picture of Ozark life in the Fort Leonard Wood area, including the language of the local residents. "To me a most interesting facet of the speech of the people of Big Piney and all their kin is the shifting of sounds- a process which has been going on in the Aryan languages since prehistoric times" (Nelson 1949: 62).

Vowels were pronounced at a progressively higher point in the throat. Nelson also describes the shortening of words, and the dropping of consonants, like he'p for help, and th'ow for throw.

For immediate or daily needs, the people in the Fort Leonard Wood region shopped or traded at the little trading centers throughout the area like Cookville (1930 population, 48), Bailey (5), Moab (10), Tribune (20), Wharton (19), and Wildwood (20) (Ensminger 1934: 104). Outside of the fort, but nearby was Devil's Elbow (15), Hanna (26), Duke, and Palace (interestingly listed as having 0 population by Ensminger!). Not listed in the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission study, but noted in the previous chapter, are the place names Dundas and St. Annie. The Dundas post office closed in 1884 and St. Annie's closed in 1895 (see previous chapter, Table 3.7). But these locations still were recognized by the population in the twenties, and may have not been counted because they were not evident to the commission researchers.

Most of the little trading centers which sprang-up in the late-nineteenth century remained during the twentieth century and consisted of simply a general store-post office, and perhaps a few residents. Cookville kept its post office in the 1930s, as did Palace, Devil's Elbow, Hanna, and Tribune. You could send a telegraph at Hanna, and Wharton, and Wildwood (Ensminger 1934: 104). Palace proudly offered the Payne Sorghum Mill (Ensminger 1934: 119). Devil's Elbow was described as a "resort center" for hunting and fishing (Moser 1973: 3) with a population of 15 in 1940 (Writers Project 1941: 416). Wharton, which was located along the old Houston road, was typical of these little centers. There, Melchasedec Brown (see also previous chapter) was the post master and general store owner beginning in 1910 (Wilson 1990: 1). His wife and he had four children, the last adopted and born in 1933. That same year the post office closed because the postal department closed all fourth class post offices at that time. During the Depression, his regular customers bought items on credit but could never repay. Eventually broke himself, Brown mortgaged the store (Wilson 1990: 2). Brown, his family and the store are shown in Figure 4.5. Wildwood was also closed at that time (see previous chapter). York and York (1975: 169) show a photograph of a substantial two-story log I-house labeled "old Thompson place at Tribune" which, in fact, may be the Frank Thomson's store at Wildwood. Regardless, Tribune remained until the fort was built.

Political and Social Institutions

Characteristic of the Ozarks, Pulaski County's educational system lagged a little behind the more "prosperous sections" of Missouri, and in the 1930s many Ozark counties still were on an eight-month session (Rafferty 1980: 232). "The organization of the schools of Pulaski County has changed little since the present [1934] district plan was authorized more than a half-century ago" (Ensminger 1934: 27). In 1915, Pulaski County had 58 schools, five being "State Approved" (Pulaski County Historical Society



Figure 4.5 Brown family at Wharton General Store, a typical trading center. (photograph on file, Bruce C. Clarke Library, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri).

1990: 2). None of the five were in the Fort Leonard Wood region. In the 1930s, Pulaski County had 61 schools, 53 of them had only one teacher (Ensminger 1934: 28). School population in Pulaski County remained fairly constant but dropping slightly throughout the early-twentieth century. In 1920 the school population was 3,432, in 1925 it was 3,340, and in 1930 it numbered 3,162 (Ensminger 1934: 27). There were no public libraries in the county during this period.

In 1914, Bloodland, Palace, and Dundas school districts, all within or partially covering the modern installation boundaries, combined into one district called C-1 (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 2; York and York 1975: 180). The Bloodland population had grown large enough at that time to fill a two-year high school with two teachers. School districts changed and consolidated throughout the twentieth century and when the fort was built, the area encompassed parts or all of the Bloodland, Maze, Rolling Heath, Cedar Hill, Lone Star no. 1, Union, Dry Creek, Low Gap, and St. Anne school districts (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 3). At the turn of the century schools in the Fort Leonard Wood area suffered from a lack of good roads, but after the building of the farm-to-market roads, the state also agreed in the 1930s to provide bus transportation for each child living from two or more miles from their school (Nelson 1949: 64; Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 3).

Most schools in the Fort Leonard Wood region continued as small one-room affairs throughout this period, except for the high school at Bloodland. Nearby, the Big Piney school was typical. In 1918, the teacher's salary was $55.00 per month, it had no library, and it cost the community $690.00 to run (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 23). By 1933, it had an enrollment of 34 students. Dry Creek had an average attendance of 30 in 1933, Maze had 12, Lone Star had 44, Rolling Heath had 21, St. Anne had 22, and Union had 36 students (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 58, 112, 119, 154, 165, 181). Rolling Heath was built of concrete blocks made in Waynesville either in 1912 or 1918 and still stands today (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 152; Dixon 1986: 6). One teacher of the school was Miss Normal Lee Anderson. The last year she taught, shortly before the installation was built, she was paid $85.00 a month for teaching and driving the "school bus" which was her own car (Dixon 1986: 6).

The Bloodland School became a first-class school in 1927, with three teachers and an enrollment of 50 students. By 1933 this enrollment had grown to 174. A substantial two-story stone high school was built in 1929 by the W.P.A. and must have been a source of pride to the community, standing out for miles around on the open prairie upland. The Bloodland school had recreational activities like chorus, folk dancing, glee club (Ensminger 1934: 35) and sports. This building was lost when the fort was built (Pulaski County Historical Society 1990: 26).

People also regularly gathered at the local churches. Church and school served as a major source or location of recreation (Anon n.d.). The churches listed in the previous chapter continued to thrive up through the twentieth century. Within Pulaski County, churches established after 1910 included the Calvary Baptist church (1929) at Devil's Elbow, the Pleasant Grove Christian Church (1918) in Laquey, the Cedar Bluff Baptist Church (1910) at Plato, the Palace Community Church (1930) at Palace, and the Bulah Baptist Church (1911) in Swedeborg (Ensminger 1934: 98).

For adults and children alike, there were many social organizations available in Pulaski County, although for the people in the southern section, Waynesville and Bloodland offered the only meeting places. In Waynesville, Relfe, and Big Piney, the I.O.O.F. continued to meet through this period, and in 1932 the O.H.O., an educational and social club began to meet with 13 members (Ensminger 1934: 78). One year later, a Baptist youth group began to meet weekly in Waynesville with 15 members (Ensminger 1934: 78). Throughout the 1930s, probably in part due to the social programs throughout the state, Pulaski County expanded its social organizations. An American Legion post was established in 1931, Woodmen of the World was established in 1925, the Christian Endeavor was established in 1930, and a P.T.A. was established in 1933, all located in Crocker (Ensminger 1934: 76). The P.T.A. had a membership of 70, people, and the Woodmen of the World had a membership of 79. In Richland, a Ladies Aid society was organized in 1918, a Boy Scout troop in 1933, another P.T.A. in 1934, and a Music Club in 1934 (Ensminger 1934: 77). Dixon's P.T.A. was organized in 1925 and had 95 members. Exactly how often or how many members of these groups came from the southern portion of the county is unknown.

When the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission did their study of the county in the early 1930s, students were inspected by the State Board of Health. While the study appears to indicate that the county population suffered from health problems, it is difficult to know whether these results were unique to the county or, more likely, indicative of the general problems suffered by all rural people throughout the United States during the Depression. In any case, a total of 754 students in Pulaski County were inspected over the course of four months, and of those inspected, they found 86 cases of malnutrition, 36 cases of "Defective Vision," 442 cases of decayed teeth, 246 "Nose," and 242 "Throat" problems, along with a few cases of obesity, poor posture, flat feet, poor ears, poor skin and other problems (Ensminger 1934: 90). The report notes that "Some of the schools are still using the bucket and one cup. Many of the students do not understand yet how important it is to have individual drinking cups, brushing their teeth, eating the right kinds of food. So many things yet for them to learn" (Ensminger 1934: 91). The report also notes that "Very few of the county schools have sanitary toilets" (Ensminger 1934: 90). In fact, many had no toilets at all. Nelson writes in his novel of life as a teacher at Big Piney that "Until last year, Helms told me, when the WPA built toilets, only the girls had one. Before that the boys went down into the west hollow and the teacher went into the hollow back of the schoolhouse" (Nelson 1949: 55). Nelson

quotes a native as explaining "Thataway they wasn't allus a fuss bein' raised over him catchin' the kids smokin' or them catchin' him" (Nelson 1949: 55). The report goes on to note that after a pubic health program was started, with the help of the Mother's Club, the Red Cross, and the Welfare and Community Club, improvements were made. "In checking our schools we have found many corrections, especially on teeth. The Waynesville school has had hot lunch this year, and so many have gained weight. Last night the health club there met to talk over the hot lunch project, sanitary toilets and drinking fountains" (Ensminger 1934: 92).

Ozarkians often preferred to take care of themselves whenever possible. One informant, who grew up south of the Big Piney area in the 1950s stated that, if nothing was broke or bleeding, "you didn't go to the doctor" (James Black personal communication, May 12, 1992). Children were born at grandmothers. As previously stated, there were no hospitals in Pulaski County during the early 1930s (Ensminger 1934: 85), and of the nine doctors in the county, the closest one to the Fort Leonard Wood area was probably at Waynesville (some residents probably went to Phelps County for services). Other health related services did exist, including three branch offices of the American Red Cross, in Richland, Crocker, and Waynesville, organized in 1918 (Ensminger 1934: 62). A county nurse was available at the Pulaski County Health Service who served the local physician in the examination of school children, and in establishing clinics for crippled children and trachoma cases (Ensminger 1934: 63).

THE DEPRESSION LANDSCAPE

After some 127 years (1813 to 1940) of American occupation on marginally productive farm lands in southern Pulaski County, the landscape was almost, if not fully, exhausted. The culture was rich in tradition and folklore, but people were suffering from over ten years of depression and perhaps twenty years of bad agricultural times. Two studies (Mussan 1941; Routh 1941) conducted in the area as it was being purchased by the U.S. Army, paint a vivid picture of this Depression landscape. The objectivity of these studies have been called into question however. For instance, it is not known if the severe conditions they described were characteristic of the Fort Leonard Wood region, or if they were describing scenes common to the South during the Depression.

Mussan's report is especially graphic in describing the landscape. In his overview of the area where the U.S. Army had purchased 65,000 acres (12,000 of which were already owned by the U.S. Forest Service), Mussan notes the condition of the land.

> The soil for the most part is gravelly and shallow and throughout the area where the timber has been removed, severe sheet erosion has taken place. In the second bottoms

along the two rivers there are signs of severe sheet erosion and also gullying erosion has taken place. There is very little evidence that farmers in the area have adopted many practices such as terracing and contouring to control erosion. A considerable number, however, have seeded their land to lespedeza. The large percentage of the area would be considered timber land although most of the timber has been cut-over and burned until only a very small amount of good timber remains (Mussan 1941: 12-13).

It was seldom found that the family enjoyed the comfort of running water, electricity, or telephone. However, it is surprising to know that a large per cent of the families have a radio. The houses, for the most part, are small, many having only two or three rooms. There are, of course, occasional houses with six or eight rooms but these large houses are usually very old... The out-buildings generally consist of one or two log sheds and native plank poultry houses. Occasionally one finds a sizable barn. However, there are many farms in the area that have no barn of sufficient size for the livestock and forage storage. Most of the families in the area raise a garden and many of them can large amounts of fruits and vegetables. (Mussan 1941: 14-16).

Along with this description, Mussan and Routh provide photographs of the area (Figures 4.6 through 4.12). These photographs show the condition of the land. The conditions described above apparently had a history of at least ten years. For instance, the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission found similar conditions as have been described in other sections of this chapter. In 1933, 29% of the county was on relief as a result of the Depression (Ensminger 1934: 142-143). The number of registered unemployed persons in Pulaski County was 1,844 in 1933 (Ensminger 1934: 144). Those that could get jobs at this time experienced a loss of real income. For instance, in 1926, tie-hackers could make $3.00 a day, but by 1933 they were making only $1.00 a day in Pulaski County. Farm laborers dropped from $1.25 a day to $.50 a day, and waitresses from $1.50 a day to $1.00 (Ensminger 1934: 121).

By 1940, conditions hadn't changed. Mussan's 1941 study primarily consisted of a survey of the families who were going to be displaced by the creation of Fort Leonard Wood. There were, according to Mussan, 304 families who were going to be moved. (Routh's 1941 study states there were 278.) Mussan states that within this area, 59% of the population had been on public assistance at least temporarily during the Depression (Mussan 1941: 64). Of 253 families who answered Mussan's survey and who lived in the "open county" (probably meaning the upland prairie area of the installation), 143 were farm owners, nine were farm laborers, and 101 "were merely living there depending on non-farm income," meaning in many cases, public assistance (Mussan 1941: 64). In 1940 there were 73 cases of Work Relief, 18 cases of Aid to Dependent Children, 24 cases on General Relief, and 24 cases on old age pensions (Mussan 1941: 64).



Figure 4.6 Farmhouse and Landscape in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940 (Mussan 1941: Schedule No. 7). Original caption reads, "Typical of farmsteads located in valleys near water and their best farm land." (photograph courtesy of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia).



Figure 4.7 Landscape in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940 (Mussan 1941). Original caption reads "General view shows typical cut-over valley and hill land. Good timber is scarce." (photograph courtesy of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia).



Figure 4.8 Farm house in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940 (Mussan 1941: Schedule No. 76). Original caption reads, "Home since 1914 and they are unhappy to leave it." (photograph courtesy of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia).



Figure 4.9 Rural residence in uplands of Fort Leonard Wood Region, 1940 (Mussan 1941: Schedule No. 10). Original caption reads, "An average residence..." (photograph courtsesy of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia).



Figure 4.10 Farm family in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940 (Mussan 1941: Schedule 198). Original caption reads, "The entire family has the appearance of beinging improperly nourished..." (photograph courtesy of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia).



Figure 4.11 Rural residence in the uplands of Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940 (Mussan 1941: Schedule 156). Original caption reads, "This family lives in very unfavorable conditions." (photograph courtesy of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia).



Figure 4.12 Two-story residence in the Fort Leonard Wood region, 1940. (Routh 1941). (photograph courtesy of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia).

Routh (1941: 4) conducting a similar study of the population within the confines of the fort for the Pulaski County Social Security, Division of Public Assistance, found similar statistics. She states that of 278 families, 64 were receiving Old Age Assistance, and Aid to Dependent Children (Routh 1941: 4).

In terms of material culture, the families in southern Pulaski County probably were typical of the entire Upland South during the Depression. Some of Mussan's findings concerning their economic status illustrate this. Of the families studied, only 8% had a net worth of over $5,000.00, and 29% had property worth more than $1,000.00. When property was excluded, this percentage dropped to 14% (Mussan 1941: 66). However, it must be stated that Mussan does not state whether the impending construction of the installation had an adverse effect on these property values. Over 70% of the families surveyed had less than $10.00 cash on hand at the time of the survey, and 64% had gross annual incomes of less than $500.00. Still, some 45% of the families had automobiles and an approximately equal number had radios (Mussan 1941: 67).

Despite the Depression, though, there were people in the area who had solid incomes, and were living well compared to the rest. For instance, those that owned farms, in contrast to those owned no property, had gross incomes exceeding $500.00 (Mussan 1941: 60). Mussan notes also that some 15 households (of 281 reporting) had a net worth of over $10,000.00.

While the above statistics would seem to paint a depressing picture without hope, the indomitable spirit of these people remained unbroken. In direct contrast to the landscape, the words of the people during this time speak of a life of contentment. Time and time again during interviews with people who lived in this area, or whose ancestors lived in this area, the author heard expressed "you didn't need money in those days." To the people living there, the land was full of resources like timber and animals, allowing the residents to live a good life, with everything that one needed, available for those who worked for it. This same self-reliant sentiment was found by Routh and Mussan. Routh noted that the people "loved the land" and one army officer stated to her "I have never seen people so well satisfied with themselves," while another said, "The Ozark people are so connected with living that they don't care to bother with earning money while the rest of us are too busy earning money to live" (Routh 1941: 20). Mary Jane Thomson, wife of Frank who owned and operated the Wildwood store during his life, was interviewed about leaving the area for the fort. She stated that Frank wouldn't have liked the people looking over the property, which "meant more than money to him" (Behymer 1941). She had noticed the changes over the last few years, however, "I wish sometimes that we had the old times back again. Life was no harder then than now. We had to work hard but we raised our own livin' and we weren't worried about starvin' as people are now. We had plenty of firewood and we raised our own cotton and made our workin' cloths, and our Sunday clothes didn't cost much" (Behymer 1941).

THE BUILDING OF FORT LEONARD WOOD

On October 1, 1940, the Army officially announced that it was going to purchase 65,000 acres in southern Pulaski County (Mussan 1941: 1). Originally, the fort was to be built in Iowa, but the water supply appeared to be better in Pulaski County than in Decatur and Wayne Counties, Iowa (Anon. n.d.). Also, 12,000 of the acres in this area already had been purchased by the U.S. Forest Service and this land was available for the Army. The occupation was rapid and almost immediately the land was transformed as laborers flooded the area to build the camp. The effect of the project was felt far and wide. At the peak of construction, some 30,775 workers were camped within a fifty mile radius of the fort and the payroll set the record for the largest in the United States (Mayes 1941: 12). In Newburg, building materials were sent by rail for unloading and transporting to the fort (Beemer 1976: 20). Over 52 miles of vitreous and concrete tile were laid for sewers, 58 miles of roads, and 75 million board feet of lumber were used (Mayes 1941: 12-13). A railroad was also built to the fort.

The change in the landscape was dramatic and ultimate. Nearby, "The little town of Waynesville, seven miles from camp, had a population of 462 in November 1940. By February 1941, the population had skyrocketed to over four thousand" (Routh 1941: 20). Everyone in Waynesville cleaned out unused rooms, sheds, or anything that had a roof to house the arriving workers. A camp sprang up outside of Waynesville down by the Roubidoux River to house the workers. These people lived in horrible conditions, "At one time forty families in trailers and tents were using one outdoor toilet" (Routh 1941: 20). Local residents got jobs building the fort and "Many apparently husky fellows hired for work on the camp site were forced to take lighter jobs after a few days because improper nutrition over long periods of time had made them unsuitable for heavy work" (Mussan 1941: 72). The population explosion to the area, and especially in Waynesville, continued through the war. "At the peak of the boom in 1942 and 1943, Waynesville leaped to a population of 12,000-- nearly 30 times the pre-war census" (Kimbrough 1946). After the war, the population stabilized, dropping down to 2500. Newberg experienced a similar cycle of population explosion and stabilization after the war.

Though most of the people were close to the land and were reluctant to leave, there were some that saw the purchase of the land by the U.S. Army as an opportunity for a better life. In interviews with informants, the author heard repeatedly the contradiction between love of land and life, and a recognition that perhaps the best thing that happened was the army buying the land. Even today there is still some resentment at the government for displacing former residents, and yet often expressed in the same breath is a feeling that it was beneficial in the end. These feelings were observed by Mussan in 1941. He quotes one resident: "We don't like getting kicked out. We have spent most of our lives clearing and preparing this

farm for our home--now we have to give it up. Guess its all right to get ready for war, though, Pa was born in Germany and God knows we never want to be bossed by Hitler. Its bad here but it could be worse, I suppose. Our breakfast this morning was bread, lard, and coffee" (Mussan 1941: 25). Others saw the arrival of the army as good fortune. One resident told Routh, "The defense program needs land so why shouldn't it be us to sell and move out as well as any one else,-- I've been waiting to sell my no-account land and that the chance has come I sure don't aim to kick up no rumpus and act like I didn't want to leave" (Routh 1941: 20). A person identified as Mr. C, states to Routh that: "it looked like a wolf had got into a bunch of sheep and they would all be scattering in every direction, old neighbors maybe will never meet again, but in most cases they would all be better off financially" (Routh 1941: 18). Overall, the population was frightened. Would they get enough for their land, and where would they go? In answer to the first part of this question, again mixed concerns were heard by the author. Informants stated that they didn't get much money for their land, but it wasn't worth much either. In answer to the second part of the question, most moved nearby. Mussan reported that of 229 families reporting, 40% were moving within Pulaski County, another 38% were moving to other Ozark Counties. Only 3% were moving outside of the state (Mussan 1941: 61). For the people of this isolated region, the change was crucial. Some of the people had never been 15 miles from their Ozark homes (Routh 1941: 20).

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY LANDSCAPE

From the discussion presented above it is clear that profound changes in the landscape occurred from the turn of the century up to the building of the fort. The turn of the twentieth century found the people of Pulaski County recovered from the Civil War and beginning to participate in a nationwide economy. Even the isolated area around Fort Leonard Wood was making significant, if not slower, progress. The farmers in the Roubidoux and Big Piney River valleys probably were doing as well as their northern Pulaski County neighbors. Those in the upland prairie and woodland areas were making a solid living, many from subsistence agriculture and others from specialized farming like raising dairy and beef cattle. Still others obtained what they needed from occasional tie-hacking, and some even were making a full-time living at it. The latter occupation though, created a major impact on the woodlands, as they began to disappear at an ever increasing rate.

During the period from around 1880s to the 1920s, a number of social organizations were started. Churches and schools provided the facilities for these social organizations. This progress continued during the 1920s, especially in road construction, but at the same time the economy started its steady decline. In fact, the 1920s seem to have been the turning point in the lifestyles of these Ozark peoples. The agricultural upturn failed after World War I, the age of tie-hacking ended, the national economy turned sour, prohibition created conflicts, and eventually some of these independent self-reliant folk were forced to turn

to the government for assistance. What may have not been evident to them at the time, but appears clear now in hindsight, is that for a combination of reasons, the landscape upon which their lifestyle depended became exhausted during this period. Farming poor soils, cutting the trees, and increased pressure on game species all contributed to this problem. By the time the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S. Army arrived, first in the mid 1930s and then in the 1940s, much of the landscape upon which the population depended was spent. Many recognized that the land needed to recover and the people needed the benefits of outside assistance, yet they were understandably reluctant to leave what they had worked so hard to make work. For the youth in the area, the fort brought new hope and opportunity, for the old, it brought a clear recognition that a lifestyle and culture were passing. Today, the only remains of this lifestyle and culture, this landscape, are found in the archaeological resources scattered about the post. A discussion as to how this landscape might be preserved is offered in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V: LANDSCAPE, HISTORIC CONTEXT, AND MANAGEMENT FOR HISTORIC SITES AT FORT LEONARD WOOD

It has been argued in Chapter I that the value of archaeological resources is measured primarily, perhaps wholly, in their potential or ability to reveal information about the past. Therefore, in order for cultural resource managers at Fort Leonard Wood to properly evaluate installation historic sites in terms of their eligibility for listing in the National Register, and then to manage these resources in compliance with the mandates of federal and U.S. Army regulations, historic archaeological resources must be evaluated within the context of their history and the research that can reveal their past. The history of the Fort Leonard Wood region from 1800 to 1940 has been outlined in Chapters II through IV. In this chapter, the known and expected archaeological resources at Fort Leonard Wood are examined, organized and evaluated holistically, based on the outlined landscape history. This exercise will result in a *historic context*, defined here as a "unifying thematic framework" (National Park Service 1991: 11) which will allow cultural resource managers at Fort Leonard Wood to evaluate specific archaeological properties already known and future resource surveys. In other words, in the previous chapters, the history of the region has been described without regard to the specific resources found on the ground. In this chapter the expected physical resources are organized in relationship to this regional history, and also by type, age, and attribute (and thus value). This exercise will direct the preservation and management practices at the installation.

Finally, included in this chapter are suggested research hypotheses relevant to the general history and culture of the people and historic resources found within Fort Leonard Wood and suggestions for the management of the resources. It is hoped that, in the future, surveys and evaluations of these cultural resources will test the hypotheses suggested and that the management practices will be implemented and refined.

THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE FROM 1800 TO 1940: A REVIEW

The previous chapters have outlined the history of the region in a chronological order, emphasizing how the landscape changed from 1800 to 1940. Before identifying the historic context and interpretive themes for the Fort Leonard Wood cultural resources, it is useful to briefly review this history, in order to highlight certain aspects of the region's past that have had a determining effect on its landscape and cultural character, and ultimately have generated the archaeological sites.

The first aspect to emphasize of the Fort Leonard Wood regional history is that the settlement of this area of southern Pulaski County was, in comparison to other regions of the United States, slow but fairly steady. Even the people, who came as a result of the railroad being built, primarily settled in the northern sections of the county. In the southern section population continued to grow at a slow steady pace until around 1910 and then slightly declined. Also, development of this region was generally later than other parts of the state, especially in comparison to the region along the Missouri River. The early settlers crossing the Mississippi in vast numbers during the early-nineteenth century flowed up the major rivers, partly because of the ease of transport, but also because that area contained the prime agricultural land. Good agricultural land was the desire of most pioneers and speculators. It determined the location of initial settlement in Missouri, as well as much of the frontier.

The second aspect to highlight is that although the local Fort Leonard Wood landscape did not have an appeal to the plantation owner or the midwestern farmer, it had a strong appeal to a particular people, culture, and tradition, which has been labeled Upland South, Upper South, or Upcounty So. n by cultural geographers and historians. The earliest settlers in the area overwhelmingly came from Tennessee and Kentucky. Their ancestors were firmly rooted in a cultural tradition that was conceived in Scotland and Ireland, given birth in parts of western Virginia and Pennsylvania, and spread down the Appalachian Chain and across the heartland of the South. Eventually it spread into Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. This culture and tradition will be described in detail in the next section. However, it is important to note here that this cultural tradition dominated the area early, persisted and refined itself as an Ozark lifestyle, and continues to define the cultural traditions of modern Pulaski County today.

After the explorer-voyagers passed through the area, the first real Ozarkians to settle in this region were hunter-squatters and lumbermen. The lumbermen cleared the Gasconade River Valley and the upper Big Piney and disappeared in history, to be replaced by tie-hackers. The hunter-squatters either moved on or became subsistence farmers. This type of farming continued to some degree until the building of Fort Leonard Wood. Subsistence agriculture and tie-hacking are two additional aspects, or historical themes, which dominated this cultural landscape.

Historians and cultural geographers writing about this region of the Ozarks consistently have stated that the river valleys and the hollows were populated first, before the uplands. Fort Leonard Wood has both topographic zones, and it will be important in future work to test this settlement pattern hypothesis. Interestingly, as early as 1840s there may have been a small community at Big Piney in the uplands. Big Piney may have been a unique variant on the antebellum settlement landscape in Pulaski County, or there may be other exceptions to the settlement pattern described by historians. Regardless, most initial settlement probably did occur along the river bottoms, with upland settlement beginning just before the

Civil War, and increasing after the war, especially with the arrival of the railroad. The road system in this region gradually changed from being built to settlements, to settlements and farms being built along the roads. Through the late-nineteenth century until the building of the fort, farmsteads in the uplands increasingly were placed along the roads developed during this time. By the arrival of the U.S. Army, few new houses were being built far back from the road.

It is an understatement that the Civil War had a profound effect on the people and landscape of Pulaski County and the Fort Leonard Wood area. However, no major battles took place within the borders of the installation. The war in the area was characterized by terrorism, guerilla raids, and scouts by regular troops. The impact of the war to this area was demonstrated by the destruction of many farmsteads and houses. It also had a dramatic effect on the mind and attitudes of population. Many migrated out of the area during the war and did not return.

The building of the railroad had a marked effect on the county history in many ways. First, it shifted the focus of population growth and county development from the center of the county (Waynesville) to new railroad towns north and west of Waynesville. Second, it brought a new kind of settler, no longer from Tennessee and Kentucky, but rather from the northern states of Indiana and Illinois. These people filled a population vacuum created by those who did not return after the Civil War. Whether or not this brought a new cultural influence is unknown, since the southern parts of these states are still considered part of the Upland South (see below). Third, the railroad increased the thinning of the woodlands and forests as a result of its appetite for railroad ties. Fourth, it brought an influx of new material goods into this formerly isolated region. The railroad opened the county to the United States as World War I opened the county to the world.

In the twentieth century Pulaski County residents became part of the national and world economic system as they never had before. World War I created a larger market for some farmers, but it collapsed a few years later. The population peaked at this time and the landscape was filled with homesteads and small clusters of buildings. National events and trends had an increasing influence on the fortunes of the population through the early decades of the twentieth century, as they did throughout the United States. Through the first quarter of the twentieth century many in southern Pulaski County were still attempting to live off the land. This intensive use of the landscape appears to have severely strained the local resources almost to exhaustion by the 1930s. The arrival of the U.S. Government in the form of the New Deal assisted the immediate needs of the people caught in the Depression, but it was World War II which eventually had the greatest impact on the local landscape in the construction of Fort Leonard Wood.

These are some of the major trends that occurred on the landscape in southern Pulaski County from 1800 to 1940. With these trends in mind we can now turn to the historic context for Fort Leonard Wood, pre-installation, historic resources.

HISTORIC CONTEXT: OZARK LIFE AND LANDSCAPE, AN UPLAND SOUTH DERIVATION

The single most encompassing and unifying theme defining the people, culture, ideology, and landscape of southern Pulaski County is the cultural tradition of the Upland (sometimes referred to as the upper, upcountry, or along the Atlantic-back country) South. It is argued herein that the culture of this particular region is a local derivation or adaptation of Upland South culture within the greater northern Ozarks. In this section this historic context is defined and discussed in relation to the archaeological and other cultural resources within the installation boundaries dating prior to 1940.

Scholarly interest in the "Upland South" began with an article by Kniffen (1965) and has since been discussed, elaborated and expanded on by numerous cultural geographers (Glassie 1968; Clendenen 1973; Meyer 1975; Newton 1971, 1974; Otto and Anderson 1982; Otto 1985). Archaeologists also have found this tradition to be a useful explanatory framework for research on small southern farmsteads in regions along the Tombigbee River (Adams et al. 1981; Smith et al. 1982), Texas (Jurney and Moir 1987), Arkansas (Sabo 1990), and South Carolina (Resnick 1988; Stine 1989). The Upland South defines both the cultural tradition of the white, yeoman, farmer-hunter, plain folk and their geographical area of settlement in the South and southern portions of the northern states. Early on, historians identified this group as a distinctive culture, using the term "plain folk" (Owsley 1949). Frederick Jackson Turner (1920) also used the term Upland South "..though he often seems to attach a physiographic connotation to the term" (Newton 1971: 72). Other regional variations on the term include Upcountry, Upper South, and the backcountry, especially along the Appalachian chain (Fischer 1990; Ford 1986; Jordan and Kaups 1989; Otto and Anderson 1982: 89).

The Upland South defines a tradition and ideology originating among the Celtic and Welsh peoples who migrated to America and initially settled in western Virginia. Blending with Chesapeake Tidewater, German and English traditions of southern Pennsylvania, this multicultural amalgamation resulted in "..an independent small farm owner/operator who relied on traditional solutions to everyday problems which affected their economic, social, and settlement systems" (Smith et al. 1982: 9). These highly individualistic, overwhelmingly lowland Scots and Scotch-Irish peoples rapidly migrated down the Appalachian chain beginning as early as the 1720s. (While the term "Scots-Irish" is more technically

correct, common usage of "Scotch-Irish" has become acceptable, see Jordan and Kaups 1989.) With the arrival of another flock of Scots highlanders, who were being forced from their lands between 1760s and 1815 (some 52,000 Scots left for North America during this time [Johnson 1991: 220]), they began to spread north through the woodlands of southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, west through Kentucky, Tennessee, south through upper Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, and the Missouri Ozarks (Kniffen 1965; Newton 1974; Glassie 1968: 235; Meyer 1975). With localized exceptions, the land they settled was remarkably similar--mountainous, forested, rolling, often rugged, with plentiful game, and marginal agricultural soils.

It is difficult to say whether these people freely chose the backcountry lands of the Appalachians for their migration and settlement or whether they followed that route because the lowlands were settled. However, cultural geographer, Milton Newton goes so far as to state that these people were "preadapted" (Newton 1974) for the topography and climate found in the upper heartland of eastern America. Newton (1974: 152) defines preadaptation as "a set of traits possessed by a particular human society or part of that society giving that group competitive advantage in occupying a new environment." Newton lists several settlement, economic and social patterns which define the Upland South. These patterns will be detailed below. Otto and Anderson (1982: 91) support this view and argue that "this woodlands-adapted agriculture of the plain folk permitted them to occupy the vast Southern forests in only two to three generations in the period between 1790 and 1840" (Otto and Anderson 1982: 91). Though Upland South people lacked the capital and labor resources of the planter, the abundant woodlands offered easily obtained building materials and food. The rapidity of the migration according to Otto and Anderson (1982: 96) was due to the need for a "steady supply of fresh woodlands." If true, it is argued here that though the population of Pulaski County grew throughout the nineteenth century, the Ozark cultural characteristics of the area were set as early as the 1820s with the arrival of the first wave of Tennesseans and Kentuckians. Further, their statement goes far in explaining why the Fort Leonard Wood land was almost exhausted by the mid-twentieth century. Previously, Upland South people exploited the local woodland resources and then migrated further west. But in Missouri, they had reached the end of the eastern woodlands (Otto and Anderson 1982). There they settled permanently, but continued to live a life which relied heavily on hunting and gathering. As the population increased, the resources were strained to their limits.

The concept of the pan-Upland South as a distinct cultural tradition has some weaknesses, the social, economic, and settlement patterns which define it cover a wide geographical area of the eastern United States. Otto and Anderson (1982: 90), for instance, draw the geographical limits of this culture (ca.1835) encompassing an area from Lancaster, Pennsylvania to mid-Texas, and from southern Iowa to northern Florida. Only the southern coastal plain in this vast region is excluded. Perhaps the patterns which are defined as characteristic of the Upland South are actually not linked to the Scotch-Irish and their

migration, but rather, are typical of historic period low-income rural people, black, white and Native American. The answer to this question will require further historical and archaeological research.

A more serious challenge is a recent study that has questioned the ethnic origins of those traits attributed to the Scotch-Irish by early cultural geographers. Jordan and Kaups (1989) contend that the traits normally ascribed to the Scotch-Irish were in fact northern European, primarily Finnish and Indian. "Our main thesis, to be defended in ecological, diffusionary terms ..., is that American backwoods culture had significant northern European roots" (Jordan and Kaups 1989: 35). Further, "In our view, the role of the Celts in frontier America has traditionally been greatly overstated, the Indian influence consistently underestimated, and the Finnish contribution almost wholly ignored or, without adequate scholarly evidence, dismissed." (Jordan and Kaups 1989: 37). The evidence they provide is impressive. But regardless of origins, they do not dispute that the carriers of these traits were the poor white protestant yeoman who served as the "economic foot soldiers" in a surge of migration of Europeans to the southeast (Johnson 1991: 220) and that these yeomen were primarily Scotch-Irish. "The Scotch-Irish subsequently supplied the largest single genetic input to the backwoods population, setting the colonization machine in rapid westward motion..." (Jordan and Kaups 1989: 247). What they argue is that the traits (especially folk architecture) ascribed to the Scotch-Irish actually represented an amalgam of Scotch-Irish, Finnish, and Native American culture.

It is the contention here that a distinct cultural tradition defined as the Upland South did and still does exist across the South and in southern Pulaski County. The origins of its architecture and material folk culture may in fact be Northern European, but the people who brought it through the mid-south to Missouri were primarily Scotch-Irish. This cultural tradition is indeed difficult to distill and define because it has regional variations or, better stated, local adaptations. Thus the use of "backcountry" in South Carolina, for instance, is correct, because it defines the people of the initial Scotch-Irish migration down the Appalachian Chain in the 18th century. There are many other local adaptations of this tradition, including the culture found in the northern Ozarks of Missouri.

In summary, the people who settled southern Pulaski County brought with them what is called an Upland South cultural tradition. Since initial settlement, this cultural tradition has developed and been modified to meet local historic and environmental conditions. The succeeding discussion details various characteristics that make-up the Upland South cultural tradition and the modifications seen in southern Pulaski County. The patterns and characteristics described below are offered as a model or general hypothesis for testing against the actual physical (archaeological) resources found at Fort Leonard Wood. Future research should test this model against the physical resources on the installation for refinement.

Finally, the patterns described are tightly integrated in settlement, economic and social themes. Thus some may arrange the attributes differently, but all are characteristic.

Settlement Patterns

The Upland South cultural tradition has both a distinctive intersite and intrasite settlement pattern. Intersite patterns include: 1) adaptation to woodland areas with plentiful game and marginal agricultural lands that usually must be cleared (Otto and Anderson 1982); 2) roads along the ridges in hilly regions, road in the valleys in mountainous regions; 3) dispersed, kin-structured settlement; 4) dispersed, low order, central place or special purpose functions (general stores, grist mills, churches, schools) (Newton 1974: 151); 5) courthouse-town and county system which gave focus to civil order and concentrated the skill of the elite over the "peasantry" (Newton 1974: 152; Zelinsky 1951: 173); and, 6) houses located on high ground, next to roads (Newton 1974: 151; Sabo 1990: 140-146; Smith et al. 1982: 239).

Dispersion is the most visible pattern of the Upland South settlement pattern (Clendenen 1973). "The emphasis is, of course, on dispersion of a substantial portion of the population" (Futato 1989: 82) including central place community service centers. As such, the county system becomes the maximum unit of settlement (Futato 1989: 82; Sabo 1990: 143). This allows a minimum of people to represent both the elite and subordinate members of society (Newton 1974: 340-341). While this is true of the Pulaski County area and the Upland South, it must be admitted that the county system is characteristic of most areas of the United States. Still, in Missouri, this system was imposed over the French parish system which was established by the earliest settlers along the Mississippi. The county unit system fits the Ozark settlement pattern.

As seen in previous chapters, the road system and the dispersed settlement patterns of both farmsteads and central place locales (trading centers) accurately describe the Fort Leonard Wood region. Roads, especially in the twentieth century, followed the ridge lines in the uplands. In the valleys, the roads either crossed immediately to the next ridge, or followed the interface of the upland and valley. Churches, schools, and trading centers were dispersed across the landscape. Though communities like Cookville, Wharton, and Tribune became recognized place names, the buildings (churches and schools) which made-up these locales were not necessarily clustered. Rather, a general locale was recognized by name in the community. Often community service centers and hollows were named after the local inhabitants, while other locales were named for the church or school there. The existence of kin-structured settlement in southern Pulaski County can not be confirmed in this study but it is an important aspect to be studied in the future. For instance, the family of early settlers in McCourtney's Hollow reported in previous chapters

is an obvious example of a kin-structured settlement and what is expected to be the pattern throughout the region.

But also there was local variation to the Upland South settlement pattern in this part of the Ozarks. The southern Pulaski County area had and still has two types of ecozones. One is the upland prairie area, which is typical of parts of Tennessee and Kentucky. The other is found along the two major rivers which has sharp relief. Like Appalachia, the people living in these areas of southern Pulaski County adopted a settlement pattern which made use of the hollows. Hollows were settled first because they contained springs and good soils. Also, they afforded protection from the weather. Though the ridges and hollows of southern Pulaski County were not as steep nor deep as those found in the Appalachian areas of West Virginia and Kentucky, the settlement patterns there offer comparison. Wilhelm (1967) defined five settlement types found in the Blue Ridge Mountains. These types were: 1) gap or notch; 2) hollow, with two distinctive patterns; 3) cove; 4) ridge; and 5) meadow or plateau (Wilhelm 1967: 158). Especially pertinent to the Pulaski County region were Wilhelm's hollow types. The first hollow settlement type he defined was a linear pattern, with houses, barns, and outbuildings located along a stream. Near the mouths of hollows the first farmsteads were constructed. Farmsteads were evenly spaced, and continued up the hollow until the "headwalls" were reached. There the slopes were also cleared for homes sites. Often these settlements were kin structured. As the family expanded, homesteads were built on up the hollow. This pattern may be representative of the Fort Leonard Wood region and needs to be studied, although the hollows at Fort Leonard Wood appear to be smaller. The second type of hollow settlement was fan-shaped, with farms established in a semi-circle around a headwater with several smaller hollows. Further research is needed to identify a fan-shaped geological feature at Fort Leonard Wood that is like this kind of feature found in Appalachia.

Upland South intrasite settlement patterns include: 1) hilltop farmsteads as a seemingly disordered cluster of buildings with barns and outbuildings arranged around the house in an "order determined by the owner's changing conceptions of convenience" (Newton 1974: 151); 2) separate house and outbuildings (smokehouse, barns, cribs, pens, food storage buildings) (Weaver and Doster 1982: 63) serving multiple functions (Jurney and Moir 1987: 230; Smith et al. 1982: 10-11); 3) "house faces the probable path of human approach..." (Weaver and Doster 1982: 64); 4) dwellings shaded by trees (Weaver and Doster 1982: 64); and, 5) fields and pastures irregularly arranged, often following topographic features (Hart 1977).

Actually, cultural geographers and archaeologists have noted that the arrangement of buildings on the Upland South farmstead, while appearing disordered, do have a clear and patterned arrangement (Glassie 1975; Weaver and Doster 1982; Smith et al. 1982; Jurney and Moir 1987). Outbuildings are arranged around the main dwelling with the well, privy, storage shed, chicken house, and smokehouse close to the

dwelling and the large animal pens, barns, and equipment sheds beyond the central core (Weaver and Doster 1982: 63-64). Smith et al. (1982: 241) have noted that this arrangement is often clearly defined by a road or alley between the inner and outer ring of buildings. Glassie was the first of many to remark that the arrangement of outbuildings was associated with traditional sexual divisions of labor. Women's activities generally included household chores and care of the chickens, all performed within the inner circle of the farmstead. Men attended to duties associated with the outer ring of buildings like the planting and maintenance of crops and the large animals (Glassie 1975: 144). Smith et al. (1982: 240) and Adams (1990) have countered that this division was not necessarily hard and fast, women occasionally worked in the fields and men often repaired equipment in the yards. Children tended the chickens. They proposed that the division could also be explained along the lines of farm economics, "..the outer circle of outbuildings at Bay Springs [Mississippi] was oriented toward the production and storage of income related activities like cash crops and animal husbandry...with lesser amounts going to the households. The inner circle of outbuildings was oriented mainly around the production and storage of subsistence products...for household consumption" (Smith et al. 1982: 240-241). Both explanations have relevance and weaknesses. Glassie's male/female spheres generally hold if one recognizes that under special circumstances the lines were easily crossed. For instance, at harvest time, everybody worked in the fields. Likewise, Smith et al. and Adams are generally correct in saying that the the animals and crops of the outer circle were sold for cash or traded in barter, but so were eggs from the chicken coops in the inner circle and hams from the smokehouse. Regardless of the explanatory thesis, the arrangement of Upland South farmsteads is clearly patterned.

Smith et al. (1982: 240-243) proposed a model of Upland South intrasite farmsteads in which the main house was centrally located on the highest ground, with a well in close proximity. Beyond the house a ring of outbuildings were found including smokehouse, chicken coop, privy, and storm cellars. Also found in this area was a place where odds and ends were stored outside (Smith et al. 1982: 226) which are called "kulsh piles" in this region (Carter 1978 : 43). A road or trash accumulation from sweeping often helped define this area from the outer ring of buildings which consisted of animal pens, barns, and sheds. In the fields, occasional sheds also could be found. One reason for the above arrangement, only briefly mentioned by Smith et al. (1982: 241), was the sanitary drainage. Clearly the outer buildings, containing large farm animals, needed to be on a different drainage system than the dwellings. At Bay Springs, Mississippi, this was accomplished by having the house on the highest ground or, at the least, on a separate drainage than the barns. With some differences based on the prairie landscape, Jurney and Moir found similar patterns in Texas (Jurney and Moir 1987: 234-236). A regional influence on the general location of barns may be the prevailing winds.

It is proposed that the Ozark, or southern Pulaski County, adaptation to this model is, like intersite settlement patterns, influenced by the local landscape. In the southern Pulaski County uplands it

is expected that the farmstead arrangement described by Glassie, Newton, Smith et al. and others should be evident, but with local variations in building types and functions. For instance, the specialized farms, like dairy farming and stock raising, had outbuildings associated with this activity, as opposed to, for instance, a tobacco barn in Kentucky. Also, surveys already conducted have noted underground storage sheds/storm shelters at Fort Leonard Wood, locally called "root cellars" or "caves." Other special function buildings might be expected. However, for the general and subsistence farmer in the valleys and hollows, the farmstead arrangement may be different, reflecting the sharp relief. In the historic overview it was noted that the valley farmsteads hugged the interface of the hillside and valley floor. It will be important to establish in future surveys exactly how this pattern affects the arrangement of the outbuildings on the farmstead. For instance, where is the spring in relation to the main dwelling? Interestingly, the model of hollow settlement described by Wilhelm (1967) appears to be the reverse of the farmstead arrangement in the uplands. "Although the house took up the best land [in the hollow farmstead arrangement], it was considered more advantageous by the mountaineers to have the farm complex oriented 'top to bottom,' with the house at the bottom. This plan was based on a 'let it roll to us' philosophy, the wisdom of which can easily be appreciated when one considers that the mountaineer had few implements for hauling" (Wilhelm 1967: 163). Thus barns and sheds were found on the higher slopes in Appalachia, with the house near the road, on the interface between the valley floor and the slope. The author has observed this arrangement at some hollow sites in the Fort Leonard Wood area, but whether this is a pattern at Fort Leonard Wood or not can not be established without further study.

In the Upland South farm model the fields are arranged around the local topography. In the uplands, the fields in southern Pulaski County are hypothesized as following the natural woodline, ridgeline and the road system. In the river valleys, fields should conform to the river beds and hill slopes. Characteristically, in the past, the fields were fenced against the animals which roamed free (Browne 1929: 184; Otto and Anderson 1982: 91).

Cultural geographers (Newton 1974; Meyer 1975) discuss Upland South architecture within the framework of settlement patterns. Upland South folk architectural patterns include: 1) wide use of horizontal log construction (Kniffen and Glassie 1966: 48); 2) universal modular (pen and crib) construction (Newton 1974: 152) including single-pen, double-pen, dogtrot, and saddlebag housing (Wilson 1974); 3) I-house as an indicator of economic attainment (Kniffen 1965: 557); and, 4) transverse crib barns (Meyer 1975: 61). There are few architectural remains on the installation, and those that exist are only small remnants of ruins or foundations. Still, at two sites, modular pen log construction was observed by the author and contemporary photographs indicate the presence of Upland South architecture. Sauer described Ozark housing in the 1920s stating "Many houses still are built of logs and range from crude one-room cabins of rough-hewn, ill-fitted logs to structures built of carefully squared logs" (Sauer 1920: 206).

Another description of Ozark farm life in the 1920s noted that "It is not uncommon for the farm buildings to be of home forest materials, either of logs as taken from the forest or of lumber from the same source cut by a small mill that has been moved in to saw for the neighborhood" (Browne 1929: 182-183). Though most architecture is gone at Fort Leonard Wood, it is still possible to reconstruct this aspect of the culture through archaeological excavation, oral history, and studies of contemporary photography. For now, it is hypothesized that the architecture of the area is closely linked to the Upland South tradition, with modifications based on localized resources. One local building resource not available at the Bay Springs farms in Mississippi (Smith et al. 1982) was abundant stone. It is likely this resource was used in making chimney and house foundations in the nineteenth century, or as Goodspeed notes "The hills furnished the stone fire-place, ... chimney sticks and mud for the poorer, and stone for the more able" (Goodspeed 1889: 108).

Economic Patterns

Newton lists three common economic patterns characteristic of the Upland South. These patterns are: 1) adaptive food and feed complex including a wide variety of crops like peas, squash, collards, pumpkins, potatoes, cabbage, cucumbers, okra, and turnips, but most important are corn, hogs, and cattle (Newton 1974: 147); 2) stockman farmers with hunting as primarily part of the farm economy (Kniffen 1965); and, 3) an adaptable cash crop (Newton 1974: 147). These patterns include both the subsistence farmer and the general farmer. But there is a whole range of patterns that can be included under the theme of Upland South economic adaptation, which may be defined as agriculturally based.

Upland South farmland often was initially cleared using slash and burn practices to open small plots for growing corn, cotton, tobacco, and potatoes (Otto and Burns 1981: 173; Otto and Anderson 1982: 92; Otto 1985). Trees were girded with an axe and left to die. Eventually, they would be cut down. Furrows were plowed around the stumps. Fencing was placed around the fields to keep out the animals. In the early days, after a field was no longer productive more land was cleared and the old field was abandoned. As stated in the historic overview, hogs, cattle and horses were turned loose for open-range herding. Burning the woodlands was common practice. Farm activities were synchronized in an "annual round" to plant crops at different times, conduct repairs to housing and equipment, and harvest products (Newton 1971). One geographer succinctly describes the twentieth century Ozark farm diet and in doing so also describes the farm economy :

> It has a small crop of wheat to supplement the corn for bread. Potatoes, garden vegetables for summer (and often cabbage, radishes, and turnips kept in cellars or 'holed up' for winter use), field beans,

> home grown pork and an occasional 'yearlin' (one-year old calf), and butter and milk make up the principal part of the diet. On special occasions fried chicken or eggs may be added. The two latter, are usually considered rather expensive for home use, and these are more often marketed. An orchard supplies the fruit, unless a late spring frost appears, and a 'patch' of sorghum, the molasses. Berries are gathered from an old abandoned field, nuts and grapes from the forest. Wild game is shot or trapped, to add to the home-grown meat supply (Browne 1929: 181-182).

Once settled, Upland South subsistence farmers eventually turned to generalized farming with less reliance on hunting, gathering and fishing as part of their economy. They still were very flexible with the types of crops grown, although corn remained the main and most important crop. However, one characteristic of the Fort Leonard Wood area that has been stressed repeatedly is that the farmer-hunter lifestyle existed far into the twentieth century in this isolated area. Thus, in defining an Ozark derivation of the Upland South in this area (ie. historic context), one must look in detail at local conditions. A hypothetical model of the local Upland South-Ozark agricultural economy is presented now based on the landscapes presented in the previous chapters.

Upland South Ozark Agricultural Model

The development of the agricultural economy in the Fort Leonard Wood area may be described as a continuum in which the different types of agricultural practices were defined as the local population increased and the landscape was changed (Figure 5.1). Within this continuum are found differing types, or perhaps, economic levels of farming, defined by the degree to which they: 1) depended on hunting versus farming; 2) participated in the market economy; 3) devoted land to crops versus woodlands; 4) devoted time and land to a particular crop or animal; and, 5) owned property and material goods. Chronologically, the agriculturalists in the Fort Leonard Wood area can be loosely typed as: 1) hunter-squatters; 2) pioneer agriculturalists; 3) subsistence farmers; 4) general farmers; 5) specialized farmers; and, 6) tenants---with degrees of tenancy from full sharecroppers to full renters. The following discussion defines and expands upon these types. It is important to stress again, though, that the types of agricultural practices described are observable types within a continuum. There was a great deal of mobility within this continuum and individuals could move along it with good or bad fortune. In other words, these types do not represent a class system, although they do represent different levels of economic and material wealth that, it is hoped, can be observed in the archaeological record for their sites. Also note that the time line in Figure 5.1 is

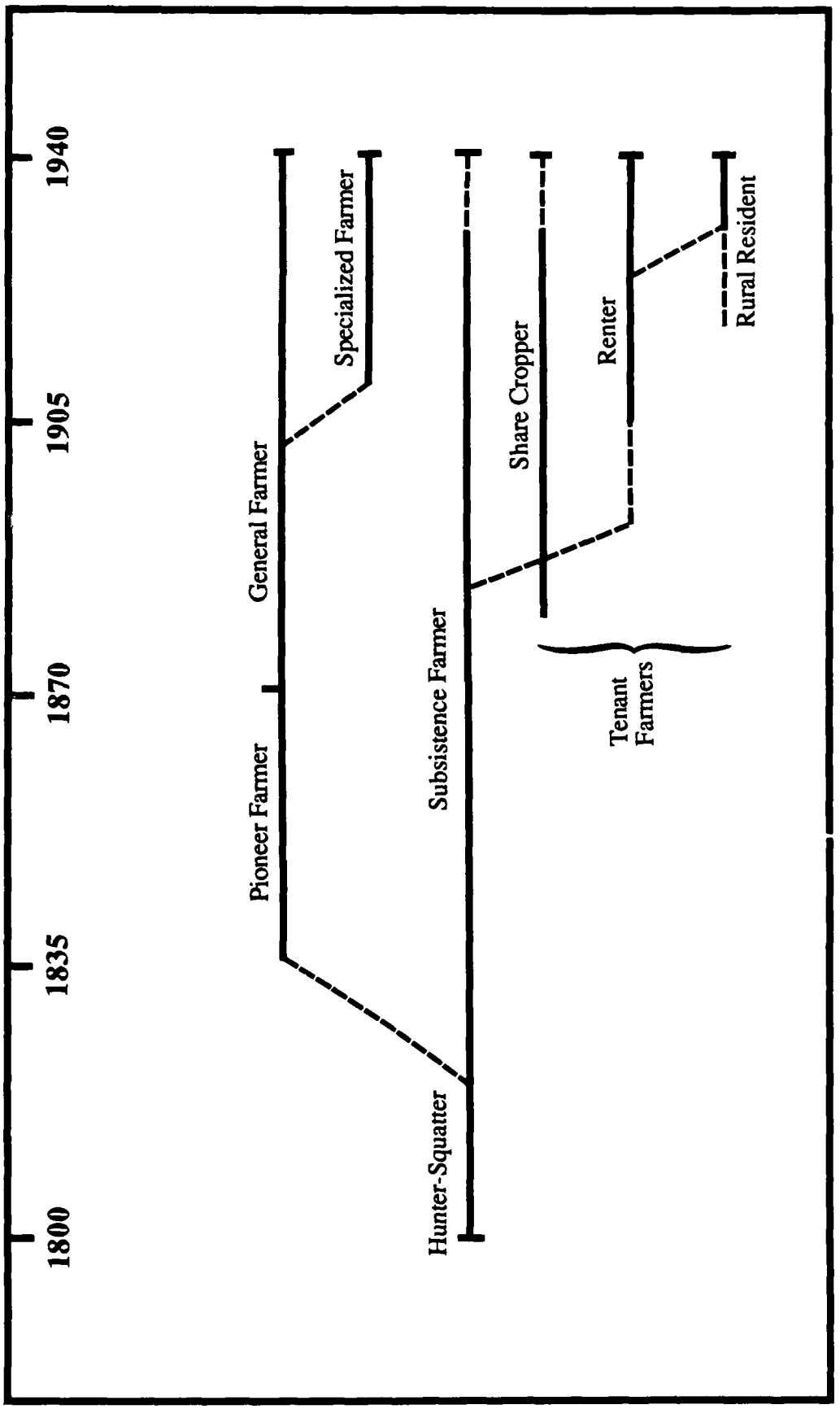


Figure 5.1 Agricultural continuum at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri fron 1800 to 1840.

very generalized. Exactly when these types were first observable on the landscape is based on the historic research to date. Perhaps the dates can be refined with further archaeological and historical research.

Based on the historic overview, the development of the agricultural economy in this area began with the hunter-squatter, defined by Price and Price (1978: 7) as "highly mobile and subsistence was based on hunting, trapping, fishing, and trading with little emphasis, if any, on agriculture." Essentially, these were the vanguard of the Upland South migration into the region, devoted the vast majority of their family economic effort to hunting and gathering, and often left when the game became scarce or neighbors got too near. The "Mr. Roberts" named in Schoolcraft's account (Chapter II) is an excellent example of these early backwoodsmen. They raised some crops such as corn, but did not participate in a market economy and bartered for needs they could not get from the land. It is hypothesized that the hunter-squatter lifestyle all but disappeared from the landscape (to be replaced by the subsistence farmer) around the time the county was formed, or shortly thereafter.

Those hunter-squatters that did not move out of the area often became subsistence farmers. Subsistence farmers, as defined here, were less mobile than hunter-squatters, devoting more time to raising crops. They were the first permanent settlers. However they did not participate in the developing market economy on a major scale. Subsistence farmers were extremely flexible in their farm economy. They hunted, trapped, fished, bartered, grew a little cotton for clothing, and grew corn for feeding both the family and the animals. In Pulaski County, tie-hacking was one method of obtaining cash for those items they could not make or grow. Subsistence farmers stayed with the land and sometimes eventually owned it. The land cleared for farming would remain small and, when worn out, more land would be cleared from the nearby woodland. Their land would be handed down to the next generation. Subsistence farming, to some degree, would continued almost until the arrival of the U.S. Army.

Arriving on the Pulaski County landscape with the subsistence farmer was the pioneer agriculturalist. As defined here, the pioneer farmer arrived with the full intention of farming as a full-time occupation, raising a cash crop, and creating and participating in a market economy. Probably the majority of such people settled to the north of the Fort Leonard Wood area. However, they are included here because, no doubt, some settled in the more fertile valleys of the southern portion of the county. Pioneer agriculturalists had some wealth and purchased land for farming. Perhaps they land speculated also. They were entrepreneurs, and, if possible, would find additional means of increasing their wealth, as opposed to simply subsisting. They built mills, provided the impetus for the formation of local government, and often ran for local office. Some began as subsistence farmers and became successful because they bought the right land. Some examples of these people within the Fort Leonard Wood region were the Cooks, the McCourtneys, the Christensons and the Turpins, people who invested in the local economy and built it.

Pioneer agriculturalists would eventually become the local upper class, economically, and the general agriculturalists of the late-nineteenth century if they rebuilt after the Civil War. In Chapter II, the author noted "Dr. Waldo" as an example of one the more successful pioneer agriculturalists.

Rafferty (1980: 150) asserts that general farming began in the Ozarks about 1870. Here, general farming is defined as full participation in the local agricultural economy, raising a cash crop or a number of cash crops on approximately 150 to 250 acres of land. Along with crops, pigs and cattle were raised for market. Like the pioneer farmers, they were very flexible, adapting their effort to the market and the environment. Corn remained the staple, but other grains were grown along with fruits. General farmers owned their land and were full members of the active growing community. Some purchased property abandoned by those who failed to return after the Civil War. General farming was more typical in the northern regions of the county at this time than in the south, but was present in both areas. It was the general farmer who was best represented by the statistics listed in the Census of Agriculture, reflecting the county's progress. General farmers would also cut timber for the railroads when they wanted, but they also might hire a subsistence farmer or sharecropper to help out. Or they might even form a small temporary company and cut trees in a non-intensive growing season.

The general farmer, like every farmer described above, was an opportunist. Starting around 1900 or later some began to specialize in dairy farming or cattle raising. Specialized farming is distinguished from general farming only in the degree to which farm labor and space was devoted to a single cash crop or commodity. Even specialized farmers were generalists to a degree; however, the majority of their effort went towards developing a single marketable commodity. Besides cattle and dairy farming, there is evidence that during the thirties there was a "dude ranch" or horse farm in the Fort Leonard Wood area. This is a type of specialized farming as defined herein. Also, for the purposes of this model, tomato farms which sprang up in the late 1920s are examples of specialized farming, although Rafferty discusses them under the title of truck farms. Specialized farmers owned land and fully participated in community development and in the market place.

Beginning sometime in the nineteenth century, probably after the Civil War, all available land was purchased. Due to a variety of complex reasons, tenancy increased dramatically across the South after the Civil War. The term tenant represents a separate complex continuum of landless people (Orser and Holland 1984). Briefly, the term tenancy includes a range of economic levels from full sharecropper (who owned almost nothing in the way of farm equipment and had only their labor to offer) to full renters (who owned everything they needed to farm except land). In this model, tenancy in Pulaski County is thought to have developed primarily from subsistence farming. It is so placed (tentatively) because it is a relatively lower economic class as opposed to the general farmer, and because it is believed (but not proven) that many

subsistence farmers became tenants when the land they occupied was eventually purchased by someone else. The most obvious examples were those who lived on or moved onto the railroad lands in the late-nineteenth century. Probably, tenants also occupied general farmers' lands and hired out as tie-hackers or farm labor. Tenancy was not prevalent in Pulaski County until the 1930s and then it was as high as 30% of the population. As noted in the previous chapters, the majority of families in this area were yeoman owner-operators, either general or subsistence farmers.

Finally, there was a type of tenant which the author has called the "rural resident." This occupant was distinguished by their high degree of poverty and occupation. They were full tenants, owning next to nothing, but not participating actively in a sharecropping arrangement. These people were present in the late 1920 and 1930s through the Depression. They lived in the county and hired out, doing part-time work when they could find it. They were the victims of the the agricultural hard times of the 1920s and later the Depression. Some found jobs in the tomato factory at Bloodland. The rural residents described here were extremely poor. Perhaps many were former subsistence farmers whose land had such poor soils that farming, beyond a garden, was unable to sustain them. They were forced by circumstances to seek out government assistance during the Depression.

Obviously not all of the occupants of southern Pulaski County were farmers, although the vast majority were. There were teachers, preachers, elected officials, blacksmiths, businessmen and professionals (lawyers, etc.). In the twentieth century there were gas station attendants and mechanics, and a long list of people who worked in local businesses. However, in Pulaski County, many of these people also lived on farms and often did some farming. Frank Thomson of Wildwood who was noted in Chapter IV was an example. He farmed and ran the general store post office at Wildwood. Some lived on old farms, but no longer farmed. Still others lived in Waynesville and had jobs in service industries. These professional classes add to the complexity of the economic patterns in the area, especially for the archaeologist studying this area. However, it is hypothesized that each of the identified types of farms and farmers described above have a distinguishing archaeological signature, which will be found at Fort Leonard Wood. For instance, the archaeological signature of a specialized farmer should be quite different than the hunter-squatter. These signatures will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section of this historic context. However, to complete this section detailing the installation's historic context, it is important to discuss the area's Upland South social and political patterns.

Social and Political Patterns

Political, religious, and educational patterns, along with traditional folkways, are joined together herein under social and political patterns. This grouping is the author's. Newton (1974: 152) confines

Upland South preadaptations regarding social patterns to: 1) evangelical, atomistic protestantism, coupled with anti-federalism ; 2) an open class system; 3) kin-structured settlement (see above); and, 4) a county-courthouse political system.

The patterns listed by Newton are clearly evident throughout the historic overview presented in Chapters II through IV. Without doubt, the people who settled in southern Pulaski County ordered their lives as Newton described. Their religious orientation included evangelical protestant denominations like Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian. Fundamental religious beliefs dominated their doctrine. Many only attended church on special occasions, especially during the early settlement of the area. Generally, on Sunday, the family read verses out of the family Bible (James Black personal communication, May 12, 1992). One special gathering occasion was the camp meeting. Sometimes these meetings or revivals would last several weeks during the summer months (Sabo 1990: 146).

The people of the area, stated yet again, were highly individualistic and self-reliant. They had a strong mistrust of authority and government. For instance, it is not overly simplistic to state that some of the bushwackers and guerrillas during the Civil War were not so much for the Southern cause, as they were simply ardently opposed to being occupied by an army. In this case, it was the Union Army. It has also been seen in the historic overview that they were and are politically and socially conservative, with a traditional mistrust of government-sponsored education. In the nineteenth century, schools were called pauper schools, seen as being aid to the poor. Although, Rafferty (1980: 232) states that resistance to formal education is still strong in the Ozarks today, some local residents interviewed by the author have taken strong exception to this observation.

Up to this point, little has been said in this report about other forms of folk culture like folk tales, music, speech and traditional lifestyles. However, a distinctive trait of the region is its Ozark folk culture, just as other Upland South regions like Appalachia are known and characterized by theirs. The author strongly disagrees with Jordan and Kaups' statement that "These hill folk [highland British], we suggest, contributed many aspects of the pioneer culture that had little or no adaptive significance-folk music, speech, tales, and the like-but their part in shaping the colonization system was minimal" (Jordan and Kaups 1989: 37). Folkways can not be dismissed in any study of regional culture and thus must be integrated into any historic context. The scope of this project, being an historical overview, precluded an oral history of the area, although some background interviews were conducted. However, the author acknowledges the region's rich and varied oral tradition and urges a formal regional study and integration of folkways and folklore into this historic context. Oral history could greatly enhance the research and management of cultural resources in the Fort Leonard Wood area. Below, some aspects of folk life are touched upon simply to indicate the many very worthwhile areas of research that are available.

The people living in the area were traditionalists in their lifestyles and interviews with local residents noted traditional practices like canning, salt and smoking pork, and storing potatoes in the root cellar (James Black personal communication, May 12, 1992) were common on the southern Pulaski County farmstead. Interviews added to the farm sexual division of labor debate discussed under the settlement pattern section. James Black, for instance, stated that "everybody worked on the farm" (James Black personal communication, May 12, 1992). For instance, on his farm, the garden was "put in" by the male and tended by everyone. Children brought the water from the cistern, well, or spring, walked the fence line, and took care of the animals. The youngest gathered the eggs from the chicken coop. Mother's role was conducted mostly near or in the house, but at harvest time, the whole family turned out.

It has been noted that Upland South communities were kin structured. "The traditionalist places strong emphasis on knowing family genealogy" (Rafferty 1980: 240), and who you were related to was as important as who you were. The importance of kin was a very common theme noted even in the brief oral history conducted for this project. Future oral history could assist in defining the communities in and around Fort Leonard Wood (see for example Smith et al. 1982). Speech, folk tales, and music are other parts of folkways and traditional agricultural life. None of these were studied in detail during this project, but local dialect is mentioned briefly. Regional speech patterns were distinctive and defined insiders from outsiders. For instance, Rafferty (1980: 233) discusses a dualism that exists among Ozark people today. There is a language carried on in polite society and another language for speaking among other natives of the area. Nelson (1949) also noted Ozark dialects in his autobiographical novel, including the shifting of sounds. Other areas for future oral historical research could include identifying the social groups that existed in the community and their lifestyle differences. At Fort Leonard Wood this might include landowners, subsistence farmers, tenants, tie-hackers, mill operators and professional people like teachers, lawyers, and doctors. Tie-hacking, for instance, could be well-documented through oral history. In fact, oral history may be the best method for approaching the study of tie-hacking as archaeological properties associated with this activity are expected to be very difficult to identify. Another area of oral research should be concentrated on social activities like festivals, holidays, funerals, and marriages. The history of the area indicates that the Fourth of July was an important local holiday.

Finally, it must be mentioned here that the people of the area represent an ethnically distinct culture. The historic overview has noted that the people arriving in the area were in the main poor white, Scotch-Irish protestants. (It appears at this time that even the infusion of upper midwestern peoples after 1867 were primarily of this ethnic heritage, although it must be posed as a hypothesis until further research is conducted.) Importantly, there appear to be very few people not associated with this ethnic heritage that settled in the area in the past, although today the southern Pulaski County region is more ethnically

diverse. Unlike many parts of the South, there were few African-Americans in Pulaski County in the past and, in the Fort Leonard Wood area, there may have been as few as one family (Nelson 1949). An important consequence of this fact is that the archaeological, historical and oral historical heritage of the area is for the most part ethnically homogeneous. This fact presents archaeologists with great opportunities for future research and are discussed in the next section.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THE OZARK-UPLAND SOUTH DERIVATION

The historic cultural resources in the Fort Leonard Wood area, primarily archaeological sites, represent the material culture remains of an Ozark derivation of the Upland South cultural tradition. Though little archaeological excavation or testing of the historic resources have been conducted on the installation , many historic sites have been inventoried through surveys. Further, archaeological research at other southern farmsteads has been conducted. Drawing on past survey work at Fort Leonard Wood and archaeological excavations at other Upland South sites, this section discusses and hypothesizes about the archaeological manifestations which are expected to be present on the installation. This discussion presents a series of hypotheses and observations which will assist in determining how historic resources at Fort Leonard Wood are managed. Following this examination, historic themes and future research objectives will be defined.

The archaeological manifestations of this historic context are primarily farms, homesteads, small service centers, and associated activity areas like trash dumps. Table 5.1 lists the expected types of pre-installation historic archaeological sites to be found at Fort Leonard Wood, along with their date range, hypothesized visibility on the landscape, visibility as a particular site type, and sensitivity to human impact. The following discussion explains the table in greater detail and its meaning and use for cultural resource managers at Fort Leonard Wood. Although such sites have yet to be excavated, the table outlines considerations as to how these sites might be identified, evaluated, and managed in relation to the historic context of Fort Leonard Wood. It is expected that this table will be refined, modified, or even rejected based on future work.

Site Classes and Types

Archaeological sites at Fort Leonard Wood fall into a relatively few functional classes and types (Table 5.1). Four classes of sites have been identified in the historic overview: 1) Agricultural Sites; 2) Community Service Centers; 3) Special Activity Sites; and, 4) Transportation-related Sites. It is important

TABLE 5.1

CLASSES AND TYPES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES, IN FORT LEONARD WOOD, MISSOURI

SITE CLASS/TYPE	DATE RANGE	VISIBILITY	TYPE SIGN.	SENSITIVITY
AGRICULTURAL				
hunter-squatter	1815-1840	Very Low	Very Low	High
subsistence	1820-1940	Low-Medium	Very Low	High
pioneer	1820-1860	Low	Medium	High
general	1870-1920 (+)	Medium	Medium	Medium
specialized	1890-1940	High	Medium-High	Medium
share-tenant	1870-1940	High	Low	Low
renter	1870-1940	High	Low	Low
rural resident	1920-1940	Medium	Low	Low
COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTERS				
mills	1820-1920	Medium	Medium -High	High
gen. store/p.o.	1830-1940	Low-Medium	Low-Medium	Medium
schools	1850-1940	Medium-High	Medium-High	Medium
churches	1830-1940	Medium-High	Medium-High	Medium
cemeteries	1830-1940	Medium-High	High	Medium
hamlets, villages	1830-1940	Low-High	Medium-High	High
SPECIAL ACTIVITY				
CCC camps	1930-1940	Medium	Medium-High	High
tie-hacking, log slides	1820-1940	Low	Low	High
Civil War	1860-1865	Very Low	Low	High
outlaw camps	1830-present	Very Low	Very Low	High
stills	1830-1940	Low	Medium	High
portable sawmills	1910-1930	Low	Medium	High
trash deposits	1815-1940	Low -High	Low	Low
TRANSPORTATION				
bridges	1870-1940	High	High	Low
ferries, fords	1820-1940	Medium	Low	Low
roads	1820-1940	Medium	High	Medium
railroad tunnel	1850-1940	High	High	Medium

to note that each of the site types within each class may have several distinct archaeological components. However, as these components make up an entire site, they are subsumed under their appropriate type for the purposes of discussion and context. It is recommended that future research and management continue this arrangement whenever possible. For instance, under the class Agricultural Sites, the various components of a farmstead archaeological site (barns, dwelling, and outbuildings) are all subsumed under each site type like Hunter-Squatter, General, or Tenant. It is important to recognize, where possible, the fields and outbuildings removed from the farmstead as part of the farm "site" also. Obviously, this will not always be possible, but it is important to make every attempt to do so and to manage the sites with this in

mind. Note that trash dumps are listed separately. This is in recognition of the practical problem of associating many of the trash dumps found in fields or hollows with one particular farm or another. Such dumps may be far removed from their primary use area or the location of initial discard. Still, when dumps can be recognized as part of a particular farmstead, they should be incorporated into the research and management plans for that farmstead. It is also recognized that this list does not include the full range of possible rural sites. Rather, the list pertains to the most common historic sites found strictly within the Fort Leonard Wood area.

The different types of Agricultural Sites listed in Table 5.1 previously have been discussed under the section entitled Settlement Patterns of this chapter. The next class of sites, Community Service Centers, are those low order central places where local farmers and other members of the community would have had raw materials processed, products marketed, exchanged, traded or purchased, and where the community would have gathered for social-political-religious activities. The type sites include saw and grist mills, general stores, gas stations, post offices (often combined with general stores), schools and public assembly areas (often combined), churches (and associated cemeteries), and a clustered settlement constituting a hamlet or village like Bloodland or Big Piney.

Special Activity class of sites occurred as a result of a unique activity or process which were not community-oriented. At Fort Leonard Wood, known specialized industrial activities like the tomato factory or sites like blacksmith shops and gas stations usually occurred in the village of Bloodland or at crossroads like Wharton. Therefore, those specialized activity sites are not listed, but rather incorporated as components of other Community Service Center or Agricultural sites. However, if other unidentified industrial, manufacturing and cottage industry sites do exist outside of a village, and can be located, they should be added to the list in this class. Finally, Transportation sites are those physical manifestations on the landscape that assisted transportation, like roads and ferries.

Approximate Date Range

Table 5.1 provides an estimate of the dates in which the various site types occurred at Fort Leonard Wood, based on the research detailed in the historic overview (Chapters II through IV). Further research may refine these dates.

Visibility

Column three of Table 5.1 provides a hypothesized measurement of an archaeologist's ability to locate these sites on the ground during a typical cultural resource survey. The measurement is subjective

and ranges from a Very Low to a High likelihood of finding such sites. This measurement is based on a number of site type attributes including: 1) expected number and types of artifacts and features found at these sites; 2) degree of permanence of artifacts and features associated with these sites; 3) expected number of sites; 4) existence of other areas of research (like archival) which would assist in locating such sites; and, 5) intensity and length of site occupation (Adams and Smith 1985: 326). It is important to point out that this column only measures the degree to which a site might be found and recognized as a site. It does not measure the archaeologist's ability to identify that particular site type, which is measured in the next column. This column and the next two are provided to stress the ephemeral, fragile nature of much of the material culture at Fort Leonard Wood. It is important to recognize that much of the history of this region does not have an archaeological manifestation on the ground. The history of this area may largely be archaeologically invisible and thus argues strongly for an integrated, ethnohistorical approach to the management of the resources. A more complete discussion will be provided in the management section of this chapter.

Some examples of this invisibility are warranted to further clarify the table. Hunter-Squatters came into the area with very little material culture, lived off the land, and many moved on. Their contribution to the region was significant, because they set the stage for the unique character and culture of the area. Yet, because the people had little in the way of permanent material culture and few outbuildings on their homesteads, the likelihood of finding such a site on a typical archaeological survey is expected to be very low. On the other hand, a tenant farmer in the twentieth century, while generally comparable in socio-economic status with a hunter-squatter, will have a very large material culture assemblage, not due to their wealth but simply due to the permanent nature of their twentieth century material culture like canning jars, ceramics, nails, and plastics (vide Adams 1980). It is expected that the tenant sites at Fort Leonard Wood will leave a clear archaeological signature. As another example, tie-hacking was an important economic activity for the area. Besides farming, it was a most common income-producing activity in southern Pulaski County. Yet a tie-hacking site is expected to be difficult to find. The only artifacts associated with the site would be wood cutting tools, or a depression (slide) on a hollow slope. According to one local resident, evidence of slides still exist along the Big Piney, so they may not be totally invisible, but are still expected to be difficult to find on a typical survey. These examples are just a few of the problems archaeologists will face during surveys and clarifies the author's hypothetical classification of sites as low, medium, and high.

Type Signature

Type Signature, Column 4 of Table 5.1, provides a measure of the relative possibility of identifying a discovered site as a particular site type. The site attributes discussed above in Column 3,

Visibility, are used in conjunction with Column 4, Type Signature, to make this decision. Essentially, this column measures the archaeologist's ability, using any and all lines of possible evidence, to identity a particular site as an identified site type. For example, hunter-squatter sites are likely to be not only hard to find, but once discovered as a site, it will be also difficult to distinguish the site as a hunter-squatter site from a subsistence agriculture site of the same period. This also will be true of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century farm sites. The low cost of the artifacts usually found at such sites (nails, glass, ceramics) made them easily available to the general farmer, share-tenant, renter, and rural resident. It is hypothesized that the material culture assemblages will look very similar and perhaps may not be distinguishable at all (Santeford et al. 1985: 193; Stine 1989: 366-367). Still, the occupants of these sites had different lifestyles and the frequency of their sites on the landscape will differ as well. Therefore it will be important to attempt to distinguish these different cultural sites in order to determine how many of each should be preserved. Perhaps deed and other archival research may be able to assist in the effort to distinguish these sites.

Sensitivity

The Sensitivity Column measures the degree to which each site type can withstand modern cultural disturbance (in this case military training) and, if some are disturbed, the degree of loss to the culture history of the area. Essentially, this column is a broad measure of the value of a particular site in relation to the number of expected sites of that type. For example, as a site type, there are expected to be very few hunter-squatter sites (there were few of them in the past), and because there is expected to be few cultural remains, they are probably highly sensitive to any training activities. If a hunter-squatter site is found and identified, it would be considered an important resource, because so little is known about this time period, the people, and what their sites might look like archaeologically. On the other hand, it is expected that the most common sites found during typical archaeological surveys will be twentieth century farmsteads, and of those, the various types of tenant sites will be the most common. These sites will be easily found, but less easily distinguished within types. However, since there is expected to be a larger number of these present, some training on and around these sites probably can be conducted once they are identified and a number of them tested or excavated in order to identify their particular archaeological manifestation. The impacts caused by past military training on some of these sites may be mitigated through additional work at the best preserved examples. Also, viewed as individual sites, they may be not as important as others, unless a particular example has an especially well-preserved and undisturbed farmstead area. Therefore, twentieth century site types are listed as Medium to Low Sensitivity, meaning that any one in particular could sustain some impact, if others are withdrawn from impact, preserved, and protected.

To further clarify the use of Table 5.1, a final example is provided. Looking specifically at stills, these are special activity sites dating from the very beginnings of occupation and operating individually for short periods of time up to the arrival of the army. Early stills are expected to be invisible, but later twentieth century stills may be found with some frequency (Visibility) (the author has found them in surveys in Kentucky). If found, they are usually identifiable as stills (Type Signature). They are highly sensitive (Sensitivity), because there is little to them in terms of material culture.

Before leaving the subject of archaeological visibility and the material culture assemblage of Fort Leonard Wood archaeological sites, some further methodological considerations must be discussed. Based on previous research (Carlson 1990; Jurney and Moir 1987; Smith et al. 1982), the archaeological expression of a farmstead is often a broad shallow sheet midden, with small areas of intense past activity where features such as storm cellars, smokehouse fire box, wells and cisterns have intruded more deeply into the ground. Dumping of trash is often off-site, although occasionally a ring of trash separating the outer circle from the inner circle of the farmstead builds through time. At Fort Leonard Wood, it can be expected that dumping occurred down narrow hollows and in intermittent streams near the farmstead. Another aspect of rural life is considerable recycling of materials for multiple uses (kulsh piles) and therefore trash accumulations may be small. This means that the sites are, in comparison to deeply buried sites, very sensitive to disturbances. Stated again, it will be very difficult to find the early farmsteads and, once found, they will be difficult to assess because the archaeological expression is spread thinly across the landscape. Shovel testing will discover such sites, but it may not be a good way of assessing the sites. More intensive effort may be necessary to discover the extent of the site, the degree of disturbance, and the number of artifacts present. Testing of these sites may require intense, systematic shovel tests, 1 x 1 meter units or other means to determine site integrity. Thus, it will be important to excavate each of the type sites named in Table 5.1 in order to determine their archaeological signature, so that other examples of each type can be managed according to their sensitivity, number, integrity, and value.

One word of caution concerning Table 5.1. The table is not intended to be used to determine specific site significance or the eligibility of a site for inclusion on the National Register. It is intended that the table be used by cultural resource managers as a tool for managing historic sites or, in other words, as a framework for site research within the historic context. In that regard it does have use in assisting in the determination of eligibility for specific sites.

Archaeology and Isolation

Though the author and cultural geographers have argued that historically the Ozarks' land and people were isolated from other areas of Missouri and the country, it is important to mention that not all

scholars would agree with this characterization. Stewart-Abernathy (1986) conducted intensive excavations of a Ozark farmstead in Arkansas and as part of the analysis he examined national trade patterns as observed from the artifacts found at the site. Stewart-Abernathy challenges the traditional notion of the isolated Ozark farm. In looking at the site's material culture assemblage, he found that the Ozark farmer of the late-nineteenth century was less isolated than the traditional myth presents, correctly pointing out that these farmers participated in a national trade network. This finding was based on the fact that the artifacts' origins of manufacture were from other states and countries (Stewart-Abernathy 1986: 156-157). Therefore, the people on these farms were part of the world economic system. This author does not dispute this fact but counters that isolation is not simply a matter of the origin of material culture used by a particular culture, either local or imported. Under such a strict definition of isolation as is implied by Stewart-Abernathy, no area of the world is or was ever isolated. The material culture of the western European economic system intruded into isolated parts of the world long before the people living in these areas were part of European culture or trade. Many Native Americans, for instance, used European goods long before they had seen the white man. Much of the artifacts found on American colonial sites are European in manufacture, and few would argue that America was not isolated from Europe in the 1600s. While products did flow into the Ozark area from around the world during the late-nineteenth century, the people chose an isolated lifestyle and ignored aspects of the outside world culture that did not suit them. In Pulaski County, for instance, the people were first isolated by the landscape and later isolated as a choice, rejecting government intrusion, for instance. If the Ozarks were not isolated, then why do people even today choose to live there for the benefits of its isolation? In summary, the people of the Ozarks were not totally isolated as often is portrayed in myth. But obviously they were isolated from many aspects of the national and world scene during the nineteenth century. Finally, to state that they were isolated should not be construed as a negative. In fact, during the conduct of research for this report, the author only heard or read about the isolation of the Ozarks and its people in a positive and proud context.

HISTORIC THEMES

The historic overview (Chapters II, III, IV) has detailed the history of the area and the historic context (this chapter) has organized this history in terms of its character. At this point, the historic context at Fort Leonard Wood has been defined as a particular Ozark derivation of the Upland South, its possible archaeological expression has been discussed, and in the beginning of this chapter a series of highlights or important aspects of the history and culture of the area was identified. It is now appropriate to list some areas of research which future work should approach in the management of these resources. The following section identifies important historic themes or directions which research should take.

It is proposed herein that future management and research should take place in a multidisciplinary framework, sometimes called ethnoarchaeology, but essentially meaning the incorporation of the techniques and theories of archaeology, oral history, and history into a holistic approach to discovery of the past (Adams 1977; Holland 1990; Stewart-Abernathy 1986; Smith 1991; Smith et al. 1982). At Fort Leonard Wood, the discipline of cultural geography is also an extremely useful approach in examining the past. All of these disciplines can offer a more complete look at the history and culture of the area, which today is represented mostly by the archaeological resources.

Table 5.2 presents the identified historic themes appropriate to the context and the Fort Leonard Wood region. To guide the further development and refinement of the historic context at Fort Leonard Wood, some suggested research questions are proposed. Also presented in the table are the suggested areas, methods or disciplines to be used in answering the research questions posed. Naturally, these are not the only questions which could be addressed, however, they are offered as a method for guiding future researchers in fruitful directions.

TABLE 5.2 HISTORIC THEMES:
OZARK LIFE AND LANDSCAPE, AN UPLAND SOUTH DERIVATION

THEME	RESEARCH METHODS
Upland South/Ozark	
Traditional Lifeways-Folkways	Oral History, Archaeology
Settlement Patterns	Archaeology, GIS mapping, Oral History
Architecture	Oral History, Archaeology, Cultural Geography
Economics (Agriculture)	Archaeology, Oral History, Cultural Geography, History
Political/Social life	Oral History, History, Genealogy
Archaeological Signature/Visibility	Archaeology, GIS mapping
Material Culture	Archaeology, Oral History
Pioneer History in Pulaski County	History, Archaeology
The Civil War in Pulaski County	History, Archaeology
Tie-Hacking, Lumbering in Pulaski County	Oral History, Culural Geography
The Effect of the Railroads on Southern Pulaski County	Archaeology, Oral History
The Depression Landscape	Archaeology,WPA Documents (History)
Outlaws and Bushwackers	History, Oral History

Theme: Upland South Ozark Derivation

Generally, the study of the Upland South Ozark Derivation is the direction which research should take for historic resources at Fort Leonard Wood with several areas of inquiry. Oral history will be especially useful in defining folkways, political and social life and traditional practices, while archaeology will provide the most useful method of determining settlement patterns.

Traditional life and folkways questions include:

1. What are the distinctive traits of Ozark lifeways as opposed to Upland South folk culture?
2. Are there folk tales and music associated with the southern Pulaski County area?
3. Are/Were there distinctive speech traits in Pulaski County? Do they still exist?

Social-Political questions include:

1. What were the traditional gender roles in the Ozark family, and are they identifiable in the oral history and archaeology?
2. What was the structure of kin relationships there? Did it define the community? Was it patterned in terms of settlement?
3. What is the role of religion in the community? Did churches define the communities?
4. How open was the class structure in the area? Did economic, social and political groups mix freely? Was there upward mobility?

Settlement Patterns include:

1. How well do the settlement patterns described by Newton and others fit this region of the Ozarks?
2. What were the Ozark derivations of intersite settlement? Are they distinctive or like those seen in Appalachia? Did they change through time?
3. Was settlement kin based (see above)?
4. Were the earliest sites in the valleys?
5. How were central place sites dispersed across the landscape?
6. Was there a distinctive intrasite settlement pattern for regional farmsteads?
7. Was there distinctive intrasite settlement patterns for each of the agricultural sites described in the continuum discussed above?

Architecture questions include:

1. Was there an archaeological signature for the various types of folk architecture found at Fort Leonard Wood (I-house, dogtrots, saddlebag)?

2. What type of folk construction techniques were used in the Fort Leonard Wood region?

3. Can these construction techniques be discovered using historic photographs?

Economic questions include:

1. Are the types of agricultural sites described in this chapter archaeologically distinguishable?

2. What trade networks were working in the Fort Leonard Wood region? How does this measure the isolation of the people?

Archaeological visibility and signature questions include:

1. Can we identify the range of possible sites known to exist at Fort Leonard Wood?

2. What do each of these type sites look like archaeologically?

3. What is the Ozark-Pulaski County derivation of the farmstead domestic sheet midden?

4. Did the residents of the area use the hollows for dump sites? If so, can the dumps be attributed to a particular farmstead occupation? Can they be distinguished from kulsh piles?

5. What was the level of historic recycling in the Fort Leonard Wood area?

Material Culture questions include:

1. What does the Pulaski County Ozark material culture assemblage look like?

2. What are the similarities and differences in the material culture assemblage between the various agricultural types?

3. What are the similarities and differences in the material culture assemblages found on white tenant and yeoman farmsteads at Fort Leonard Wood versus the assemblages found on black tenant and yeoman farmsteads in other regions of the South?

Theme: Pioneer History

This theme is provided simply to recognize the necessity of continuing research into the early history of the area. The next step is to dig deeper into the settlement history using the land records available to determine the earliest farmsteads and settlements. With this information, archaeological surveys should attempt to locate these specific sites. One fruitful area would be to target the Cookville and McCourtney's Hollow. Another area might be the area just south of Waynesville where the Christensons settled.

Pioneer questions include:

1. Can we identify the earliest settled areas and sites?
2. When was Big Piney first settled?
3. Were the first farmsteads all located in the valleys?
4. Where are the earliest roads? Do remnants exist?

Theme: Civil War In Pulaski County

The historic overview summarized the events that occurred in Pulaski County during the Civil War. There is a surprisingly large amount of information about the units maneuvering in the area and it is worth the effort to dig further into the archival materials available in national and state archives to fill in this picture. In doing so, it may be possible to identify areas which can be surveyed to discover campsites and battlegrounds. One battleground already identified is in McCourtney's Hollow.

Civil War questions include:

1. Are there military campsites within the installation?
2. Is there archaeological evidence of the skirmish in McCourtney's Hollow?
3. What was the local population distribution between those who fought for the South and those who fought for the North?

Theme: Tie-Hacking, Lumbering

Tie-hacking was prevalent in the area, yet this activity may only be approachable through oral history. Further oral history should be attempted to determine exactly the role of tie-hacking and rafting in the economy and folklore of this region. Also, further research needs to be conducted on the possibility of

small portable sawmills arriving in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, which would have had a large and immediate impact on the landscape.

Tie-hacking and lumbering questions include:

1. Do tie-hacking sites still exist? Can they be identified?
2. Are there areas of the Big Piney and Roubidoux Creek on the installation which have evidence of slides?
3. Do any rafts exist in the rivers?
4. Did portable sawmills work in this region? Where? When?
5. What percentage of time was spent on tie-hacking by the average farmer, share-cropper, renter, etc.?
6. Are there stories or legends associated with local tie-hackers and rafters?

Theme: The Effect of the Railroad

The railroad profoundly changed the county in many ways. But what was the exact effect on the southern part of the county? This area of research can be approached through many avenues, such as history, archaeology, and oral history.

Questions on the effect of the Railroad include:

1. Can the effect of the building of the railroad be seen in the archaeological record?
2. Can the Irish Graveyard be located archaeologically? Has it been completely destroyed?
3. How much land did the railroad own in the southern part of the county?
4. Was there a change in the types of people who settled in the area after the railroad was built?
5. Did the railroad help to break the isolation of the area?

Theme: The Depression Landscape

There is still a great deal of information about the Depression in this area that can be gained. The historic overview in this report only scratched the surface of documentary resources. One area that was not pursued in detail, for practical reasons, was the newspaper accounts about the arrival of the army. Also, it

is possible that when the army arrived, it made a careful survey of the lands, properties, and people of the area and these records may still exist. For instance, detailed records of the properties purchased at the Savannah River Nuclear Site in South Carolina were made when that area was acquired. This work was done by the Army Corps of Engineers, for property assessment, and the records include size of all structures, photographs of all structures, value, inventories and a wealth of other data (Richard Brooks personal communication, October 1, 1992). Finally, aerial photography exists for the farms in the area. These photographs could be used in a variety of ways, including assisting in GIS mapping. All of this could provide a microscopic level of detail and create a unique opportunity to reconstruct the landscape of Fort Leonard Wood during the first part of the twentieth century.

Depression Landscape questions include:

1. Can the Depression landscape be fully recreated using the documents noted above?
2. How can these documents be used to detail the settlement patterns?
3. Will a systematic analysis of photographs from this time period provide architectural details to reconstruct the Ozark Upland South farmstead architecture and layout?

Theme: Outlaws and Bushwackers

The landscape in this area was and is still known today as a region where people could easily get lost and escape the law. The folklore of the Ozarks is full of such stories. How does this local region fit into the folklore of the outlaws and bushwackers of the past? This is a prominent theme in the oral history of the area and should be further pursued.

Outlaw and bushwhacker questions include:

1. Is there an archaeological manifestation of these activities?
2. Were there local folk heros who were outlaws and bushwackers?
3. What are the regional legends about these people?

Above has been listed just a few of the areas of inquiry that might be pursued in the course of research and management of the cultural resources at Fort Leonard Wood. The themes provided came directly out of the historic context. The questions serve as examples of the more promising areas of research to investigate and to direct future research. In attempting to answer these questions, through enthoarchaeology, much will be learned about the history and archaeology of the area and a better framework for determining site significance will be created.

AN EXPERIMENTAL APPLICATION

The practicalities of this project and its primary goal of identifying a historic overview of the area precluded a detailed land survey as part of the project. However, Phase III of this project consisted of a very limited field exercise and a brief statement of findings is necessary.

Seven sites were selected for site visits by the author after discussion with the installation archaeologist. The sites were selected in order to provide the author with a range of different site types (note that the type sites described above were not identified at that time so, in this case, the types of sites visited were based on physical attributes). The methods used during the survey are described in the first chapter. The seven sites visited were 22PU246, 22PU277, 22PU395, 22PU397, 22PU398, 22PU399, 22PU402. Additionally, Rolling Heath School, Big Piney, the former location of Bloodland, and Bloodland and Friendship Cemeteries were visited and the entire installation toured on at least three separate occasions. Finally, the author assisted the historic properties survey being conducted simultaneously with this project by reviewing the sites located during 2,400 acre and 4,800 acre surveys and comparing them to historic maps with the purpose of identifying the owners (Baumann and Markman 1992a; Baumann and Markman 1992b).

One goal of this work was to provide the UTM coordinates of selected sites using the Magellan GPS NAV 1000 PRO (TM). This work was successfully conducted at five sites, with the assistance of Markman and Associates, Inc., and the UTM coordinates were provided to the installation archaeologist for GIS Mapping. The installation archaeologist computed the GIS coordinates from a UTM topographic map for comparison. Comparing the UTM coordinates on a topographic map with the ones obtained with the instrument indicated some differences. Table 5.3 provides a comparison of these figures.

After visiting the sites and reviewing the site forms some comments can be made in comparing these sites to the typology described in this historic context. Site 22PU246 is an example of an upland farmstead located along a road to Cookville. As it contains concrete foundations and a root or storm cellar, it probably dates to the twentieth century. Its location is only a few meters away from the road and it is hypothesized that it was built after the road, as expected within the local settlement pattern. It is a typical example of an upland farmstead which cannot be further typed without testing. However, it is possible that it is a rural resident site, based on its location near the road and lack of evidence of outbuildings. The 1930s plat shows that A.W. Cook owned land in the area, but no road is shown on the map that looks like the modern road today. While it is on A.W. Cook's land, and may be related to the nearby mill and trading center, it is more likely that Cook owned the property but did not live in that house.

TABLE 5.3
UTM COORDINATES FROM GRASS AND
MAGELLAN GPS INSTRUMENT

SITE	MAGELLAN GPS	GRASS
22PU246	E570932/N4167062	E570899/N4167020
22PU277	E569790/N4167150	E569620/N4166980
22PU397	E578646/N4170881	E578664/N4170866
22PU398	E578072/N4171473	E578062/N4171497
22PU399	E578034/N4172396	E578049/N4172475

Site 22PU277 is Cookville, and though only foundations are seen today, it is an important site which dates into the early years of the region. These foundations are also concrete but it is probable that earlier deposits exist. It is located well up the side of the hill which abuts Roubidoux Creek, with a road climbing out of the Cookville ford and up to this little hamlet, and farther on, to St. Anne. The mill has not been located and some effort should be made to find it. The mill and village show up on most historical maps. The mill obviously was detached from the hamlet being located along the river, while the general store and post office was high above the river. Cookville is an important example of the dispersed Community Service centers found in this region and additional information about its history has been described in previous chapters . During two visits there, archaeologists noticed quite a bit of disturbance immediately south of the site and this is cause for concern. If intact deposits of the mill and the hamlet exist, it is very possible that they will be significant to the understanding of regional history.

Site 22PU395 is a farmstead located at the bottom of a slope in a hollow containing four foundations. It has been described in detail in a survey report (American Resources Group, Ltd. 1992), however it is worth noting that the site contains not only foundations of a homestead, but also log ruins of outbuildings. This site is an example of a hollow valley farmstead where the buildings are located above the valley-ridge interface. A spring is nearby and the site appears to fit very well the farmstead settlement patterns expected in this type of topography. It also appears that it has not been disturbed (relatively) as much as many other sites. It is probably an important example of either a subsistence or general farmer. Testing of the area would greatly assist in determining the site's farm type.

Site 22PU397 is located at the bottom of a ridge, very near a small stream. However, it has a substantial concrete foundation and is more likely to be a general farmstead or perhaps a specialized farmer. It probably dates later than 22PU395, although again, it is difficult to state this given the lack of testing and the fact that subsistence farming existed so long in this region. Site 22PU402 is also an example of a

hollow valley site, located on a ridge slope just above an intermittent stream. Its isolated location would imply that it was occupied by a subsistence farmer, however a substantial chimney and concrete foundation exist, along with a root cellar. The valley floor which probably contained the farm's field has been severely disturbed by training.

Site 22PU398 is an example of an upland specialized farm with dairy barn, house foundation, a storm or root cellar, and even a pond. It is a good surviving example of this type of farm. It also appears to have integrity and therefore is a good prospect for future testing. Enough of the outbuildings exist for some information about intrasite settlement patterning to be observed. Site 22PU399 is another upland farm, but it would appear that only the house foundation exists. It is likely to be a general farm or upland tenant site. Further research is needed.

The author visited Bloodland which appears to be nearly totally destroyed. One building exists and is being used by the Army. Otherwise most of the area is now a firing range. The cemetery is being well-maintained by the U.S. Army and this should continue. Some attempt might be made to further survey the area to determine if any of Bloodland still exists. The author also visited Rolling Heath School which has a rich history and still stands. It is an example of a dispersed central place service center. Further discussion of this resource is discussed in this chapter under the management section.

Just off post is the village of Big Piney, described in the historic overview. Cultural resource managers at Fort Leonard Wood should keep close track of this village. Big Piney is a surviving example of one of the earliest small upland villages in the area and, therefore, is an extremely important regional resource. Although it is not within the installation boundaries at the current time, cultural resource managers must be aware of it, and, should its status change, be ready to act.

As can be seen in this small exercise, the range of sites described in this historic context do exist. Specifically identifying them will take some effort beyond the survey level. However, once a few well-documented examples are identified and investigated, the types should become easier to identify and evaluate.

MANAGEMENT OF HISTORIC RESOURCES AT FORT LEONARD WOOD

The management of historic resources at Fort Leonard Wood must be conducted within the law and regulations of National Historic Preservation Act (as amended), the Fort Leonard Wood Historic Management Plan, and Army Regulation 420-40. These laws, documents and regulations provide the details of developing a comprehensive, integrated cultural resource management program at Fort Leonard

Wood. The final section of this report provides suggestions for the specific management of historic resources dating from 1800 to 1940 in light of the historic overview (Chapters II, III, and IV) and historic context (this chapter). Nothing in the following discussion should be understood as a substitute for the installation fully meeting the requirements of compliance with cultural resource management laws and regulations. In fact, the suggestions are provided to assist the installation in its compliance with such regulations and its responsibilities as a steward of public property.

Army Regulation 420-40 requires Fort Leonard Wood to develop a Historic Preservation Plan outlining the process whereby it will, inventory, evaluate and protect all cultural resources on the property. The development of this plan is currently in progress. Another goal which should be strongly considered is the interpretation of these resources. Only by providing the public and the Army with an interpretation, and an education about these resources, will the resources be understood as worthy of preservation. Further, interpretation provides a direct benefit to the public who ultimately own the resources. All of this must be completed, while at the same time continuing its primary mission of training Army engineers. Herein are some suggestions for accomplishing these tasks.

Identification

The survey and inventory of pre-installation historic resources is on-going and should continue. At the same time the resources previously identified should be integrated into the historic context detailed in this report and an attempt should be made to organize those resources within the historic site types described. Previous surveys have been conducted on sections of the fort based primarily on immediate needs. These surveys are necessary and it is expected that they will continue. However, some additional effort should be made to locate the range of archaeological site types on the installation by targeting potential areas identified through archival research. For instance, an effort should be made to survey McCourtney's Hollow, Cookville (if they have not already been surveyed), and other areas with the intent to locate the earliest occupied sites on the installation. Other type sites which are known should be targeted also, like the central place/trading centers of Tribune, Wharton and Wildwood. In conjunction with this work, plat work should be conducted to locate a kin-structured community (again, McCourtney's Hollow comes to mind). Once the range of sites has been identified, they need to be evaluated (see below).

Another inventory process that should continue is GRASS-GIS mapping of identified properties. Once previous survey efforts have been concluded, these sites need to be mapped along with geographic attributes like local topography and streams (streams and rivers have been mapped already). As sites are identified as particular site types, they also need to be coded and mapped as such. Using the maps discovered during this project, old roads need to be mapped. Much of the settlement pattern research detailed

in the historic context and themes could be conducted through GRASS-GIS mapping, already available at Fort Leonard Wood. With some effort, the landscapes discussed in this report could be actually mapped, providing a wealth of research information. Further, mapping these landscapes will allow the Army to determine early settlement areas which are likely to be sensitive to training activities, and thus they will be better able to control damages to sensitive sites.

Inventory primarily will be conducted using archaeological survey. However, future surveys could greatly be assisted through the use of the historical documents available. The aerial photography mentioned earlier could provide a valuable method of identifying significant resources. Additionally, using this source, GRASS mapping could be greatly enhanced. Further, an intensive effort should be made in national and installation archives to locate the property reports generated during the purchase of civilian properties for the creation of the fort. The effort necessary will pay off tremendously if the documents exist and can be recovered. Using these detailed sources, archaeological ground truthing could be enhanced and better directed. Also the wealth of data that these sources provide could change the fundamental way in which survey and management is conducted. Finally, additional materials will be found in a detailed survey of local and regional newspapers.

Evaluation

Evaluation of the resources must go beyond the survey level of shovel testing. A test excavation strategy must be designed for evaluating these sites based on work at previous Upland South or other rural farmsteads. This will involve rather intensive investigation because of the dispersed nature of historic farm features. A strategy involving systematic test units is thought to be minimally workable and, if possible, a complete excavation of at least one each of the identified site types would be ideal. The purpose of such work is to better define the archaeological manifestations of these sites as a class or group of sites so that other sites within that type can be evaluated for their significance for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. It will also allow for the determination of non-eligibility of such resources. In this manner, areas of the installation can be "cleared" for training activities, while other areas are managed more intensely for their valuable resources.

Another reason testing will allow for better evaluation of the resources is that one important criteria for determining significance of Fort Leonard Wood historic sites will be site integrity. Determining site integrity at farmsteads is difficult, again, because of the expected dispersed, shallow nature of these sites (Smith et al 1982; Jurney and Moir 1987). The installation has had intensive training on it since the 1940s. This training and construction has had a severe effect on the cultural resources. It is possible that this training has effectively destroyed the resources in large areas of the installation. Test excavation of

these sites will allow cultural resource managers to identify these areas, and if they exist, 'clear' them for less restricted training (in terms of cultural resources) while the cultural resource managers more intensively manage those areas that have not been severely altered. Based on the author's admittedly limited survey of the fort, this possibility seems likely. However, these areas cannot be managed without some information about the sites they contain beyond the survey level.

Evaluation of archaeological sites must be based on the criteria set forth in 36 CFR 60.4. These criteria state that these sites are considered significant if they are: 1) associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; 2) are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; 3) embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values, or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or, 4) have yielded or are likely to yield information important in prehistory or history. The historic themes listed above provide the broad patterns of the installation's history, and with an evaluation of integrity, cultural resource managers should use the themes as a method of determining significance of the sites on the fort. Primarily this data will be archaeological. However, it is obvious that oral history and detailed studies of geographical data (maps and plats) will greatly assist making this determination. The evaluation of historic resources should use the ethnoarchaeological approach to gather data from all possible data sources to make these evaluations. The property purchase documents mentioned in the previous section could also be used in the evaluation of archaeological sites as well as inventory.

Management and Preservation

Inventory and evaluation are actually part of the management and preservation of the resources. However, additional steps much be taken particularly in management. Once the evaluation process begins sites can be nominated to the National Register based on the criteria above and as applied by the themes and historic context. It is recommended that at least one good example of each type site described above be nominated to the National Register. Ideally areas representing past and present landscapes within the installation could be nominated as rural landscapes. Within these landscapes, the archaeological properties could be protected and training severely restricted, while other areas could be released for intensive training.

The historic preservation plan should identify the threats to the historic archaeological properties on the installation though this report will not detail them further, other than to mention that training activities, forestry management, and site vandalism are all possible activities that disturb archaeological properties. Integration of natural resource management will insure that forestry and other natural management activities do not disturb resources. Based on the present excellent cooperation between cultural

and natural resource activities, this is thought to be the least of the three threats. As discussed in the section containing site types and visibility, it hypothesized that the unique (few in number), earliest, perhaps deepest (archaeological deposits), and therefore more significant sites will be found in the valleys and hollows at Fort Leonard Wood. In contrast, the more numerous (in terms of site types and numbers), later, shallower, and therefore less or non-significant sites will be found in the upland prairie areas. Though this is a very bold and broad statement, cultural resource managers should consider this in their management decisions if the hypothesis proves correct.

In this report, standing historic resources have been treated as archaeological properties for the purposes of discussion. Management and preservation of these resources, however, will be different. Few historic buildings remain on post and therefore those that do remain need special attention. It is suggested that buildings such as Rolling Heath School be restored and restricted from training activities. There are also a few log buildings standing in ruins around the installation and these should also be considered sensitive resources and protected from all training activities. They are the only remaining examples of the once ubiquitous folk architecture of the area and are therefore valuable. A detailed survey of the construction techniques found on these ruins should be conducted for documentation purposes, as it is unlikely that they will survive in the long term.

It is important to stress again that management should be conducted using an integrated method using archaeology, oral history, cultural geography, and GRASS mapping. An oral history program should be started at the installation to document the recollections of those who lived in the area. This should be thought of as part of the inventory process, although specific oral histories of tested sites will greatly enhance the evaluation of the resources also. Oral history will also enhance the interpretation process.

As control of the resources is gained through such work as this report, the historic preservation plan, and an on-going process of evaluation begun, the history and archaeology of the area should be told to the people and soldiers in the area. Rolling Heath School offers a unique opportunity to present this story. By restoring Rolling Heath School, a museum could be constructed and displays could be used to interpret the region. It is obvious from the research conducted during this report that many photographs of the area exist and these could be used in the interpretation. From Rolling Heath, tours of the post could be conducted highlighting the natural scenic beauty and the historical richness of the area. Tours could be conducted of rural landscapes that exist and the remaining examples of the folk architecture could be highlighted. This in combination with the rich prehistoric resources could make Fort Leonard Wood a model of cultural resource stewardship.

CONCLUSIONS

Fort Leonard Wood obviously has a unique and interesting history, tied to the Ozarks and rural south culturally, but with unique derivations. It is also obvious that there is more history to tap, as this report provides only a summary. Historic resources, like primary documents, are indeed scarce and finding additional sources will require intense work. However, this report ends with a reiteration of the statement made in the beginning. Much of the history of this area lies in its archaeology. Therefore, the second level of archaeological work, that of testing and detailed site investigation, needs to be conducted.

This report has provided an overview of the Fort Leonard Wood area, organized the archaeological resources based on the historic overview by identifying and describing an appropriate historic context and themes, and offered general suggestions for managing these resources. Along with the historic preservation plan, this report should provide cultural resource managers a framework for integrated stewardship of these historic resources.

REFERENCES CITED

Adams, William H.
1977 *Silcott, Washington: Enthoarchaeology of a Rural American Community.* Laboratory of Anthropology Reports of Investigations 54, Washington State University.

1990 Landscape Archaeology, Landscape History, and the American Farmstead. In Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms, edited by Charles E. Orser, Jr., *Historical Archaeology* 24(4): 92-101.

Adams, William H. (editor)
1980 *Waverly Plantation: Ethnoarchaeology of a Tenant Farming Community.* National Technical Information Service, Washington.

Adams, William H. and Steven D. Smith
1985 Historical Perspectives on Black Tenant Farmer Material Culture: The Henry C. Long General Store Ledger at Waverly Plantation, Mississippi. In *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, edited by Theresa Singleton, pp. 309-334, Academic Press, New York.

Adams, William H., Steven D. Smith, David F. Barton, Timothy B. Riordan, and Stephen Poyser
1981 *Bay Springs Mill: Historical Archaeology of A Rural Mississippi Cotton Milling Community.* National Technical Information Service, Washington.

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, National Park Service,
U.S. Department of the Interior
1989 *The Section 110 Guidelines: Annotated Guidelines for Federal Agency Responsibilities under Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act.* Working with Section 106, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the National Park Service, Washington.

Anonymous
1988 Pulaski County Time Line! *Old Settlers Gazette*, Radio KJPW, Waynesville, Missouri, 6: 18.

n.d. Bloodland. Ms. on file U.S. Army Engineer Museum, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.

American Resources Group, Ltd.
1992 *Phase I Historic Properties Investigations of Timber Sale/Training Areas, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.* American Resources Group, Ltd. Carbondale, Illinois. Prepared for the Kansas City District, Corps of Engineers.

Arensberg, Conrad M. and Solon T. Kimbal
1965 *Culture and Community.* Harcourt, Brace, and World, New York.

Arthur, George Clinton
1940 *Backwoodsmen: Daring Men of the Ozarks.* The Christopher Publishing House, Boston.

Batman, Richard
1984 *James Pattie's West: The Dream and the Reality.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London.

Baumann, Timothy and Charles W. Markman
1993a *Interim Report: Historic Properties Survey-2400 Acres Fort Leonard Wood, Pulaski County, Missouri.* Report Submitted to U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District, by Markman & Associates, Inc., St. Louis, Missouri, through Nakata Planning Group, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

1993b *Interim Report: Historic Properties Survey-4800 Acres Fort Leonard Wood, Pulaski County, Missouri.* Report Submitted to U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District, by Markman & Associates, Inc., St. Louis, Missouri, through Nakata Planning Group, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Beck, Lewis Caleb
1823 *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri.* Charles R. and George Webster, Albany, New York. Reprinted 1975 by Arno Press, A New York Times Company, New York.

Beemer, Mary Alice
1976 *Hello From Newburg! Bicentennial City.* Bixler Printing Co., St. James, Missouri.

1981 *The Branch of My Planting.* Bixler Printing Co., Rolla, Missouri.

1984 *Newburg's First Hundred Years January First 1884-1984.* Bixler Printing Co., Rolla, Missouri.

Behymer, F.A.
1941 Aunt Mary Jane Loses Her Ozark Home. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 14. Clipping on file, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Beydler, Van
1989 The Great Bloodland Post Office Robbery. *Old Settler's Gazette*, Radio KJPW, Waynesville, Missouri, 7: 15.

Bidwell, Percy Wells and John I. Falconer
1925 *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States 1620-1860.* Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington D.C. Reprinted 1973 by August M. Kelly Publishers, Clifton, New Jersey.

Bradbury, John F., Jr.
1990 Waynesville Civil War Diaries. *Old Settlers Gazette*, KJPW Radio, Waynesville, Missouri, 8: 15.

Bradford, Vance Arthur, M.D.
1985 *Bradford Descendants.* Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Bretz, J. Harlen
1956 *Caves of Missouri.* Division of Geological Survey and Water Resources, Rolla, Missouri.

Broadhead, G.C., F.B. Meek, and B.F. Shumard
1873 *Reports on the Geological Survey of the State of Missouri 1855-1871.* Bureau of Geology and Mines, Regan & Carter Printers, Jefferson City.

Browne, W.A.
1929 Some Frontier Conditions in the Hilly Portion of the Ozarks. *Journal of Geography* 28(5): 181-188.

Butzer, Karl
1982 *Archaeology as Human Ecology: Method and Theory for a Contextual Approach.* Cambridge University Press, England.

Campbell, R. A.
1873 *Campbells New Atlas of Missouri with Descriptions Historical, Scientific and Statistical.* R.A. Campbell, St. Louis, Printed by S. Augustus Mitchell, Philadelphia.

Carlson, Shawn Bonath
1990 The Persistence of Traditional Lifeways in Central Texas. In Historical Archaeology on Southern Pla ,tations and Farms, edited by Charles E. Orser, Jr., *Historical Archaeology* 24(4): 50-59.

Carter, Chief Russell Sage
1978 Re-Tracing Boone's Trail Plus Trapper's Wife. Privately published by Chief Russell Sage Carter, Springfield, Missouri.

Chang, K.C.
1972 *Settlement Patterns in Archaeology.* Module in Anthropology, Module 24. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading, Massachusetts.

Clendenen, Harbert L.
1973 *Settlement Morphology of the Southern Courtois Hills, Missouri, 1820-1860.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

Clarke, David L., editor
1977 *Spatial Archaeology.* Academic Press, London.

Collier, James E.
1953 *Geography of the Northern Ozark Border Region.* The University of Missouri Studies Volume XXVI, No. 1, University of Missouri, Columbia.

Cooley, Robert E. and Michael J. Fuller
1976 *An Archaeological and Historical Survey of Areas to be Affected by Construction Activities at the Waynesville Treatment Plant In Waynesville, Missouri.* Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield.

Crumley, Carole and William Marquardt
1987 *Regional Dynamics: Burgundian Landscapes in Historical Perspective.* Academic Press, New York.

Derry, Anne, H. Ward Jandl, Carol D. Shull, and Jan Thorman
1977 *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning.* National Register Bulletin 24 [revised by Patricia L. Parker 1985]. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington.

Dixon, Dee
1986 Mayor Tells History of Post's Oldest Building. *Guidon*, Fort Leonard Wood. Missouri, June 12.

Douthit, Mary Lee, Robert Flanders, Barbara Fischer, and Lynn Morrow
1979 *Overview of Cultural Resources in the Mark Twain National Forest, Missouri, Volumes 1 through IV.* Center for Archaeological Research Project #94, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield.

Dyer, Frederick
1908 *Compendium of the War of Rebellion.* Des Moines, Iowa. Reprinted 1979, National Historical Society in Partnership with Press of Morningside Bookshop, Dayton, Ohio.

Edging, Richard
1992 Memo From Richard Edging to Steven Smith. On file, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Ellis, John B.
1864 Letter to J.P. Sanderson, April 21, 1864. Original, "Union Provost Marshalls' File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians," National Archives Microcopy, No. 416, Roll 33. Copy obtained from private collection of John F. Bradbury, Jr.

Ensminger, Douglas (compiler).
1934 *Handbook for Community Organizers and County Social Workers In Pulaski County.* The Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission, Columbia. Copy on file, Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia.

Fischer, David Hackett
1989 *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

Flannery, Kent V.
1974 Culture History Versus Cultural Process: a Debate in American Archaeology. In *New World Archaeology: Theoretical and Cultural Transformations*, compiled by Ezra B.W. Zubrow, Margaret C. Fritz, and John M. Fritz, pp. 5-8. W.H. Freeman and Company, San Franciso. Originally published August 1967, *Scientific American.*

Foley, William E.
1989 *The Genesis of Missouri: From Wilderness Outposts to Statehood.* University of Missouri Press, Columbia.

Ford, Lacy K.
1986 Yeoman Farmers in the South Carolina Upcountry: Changing Production Patterns in the Late Antebellum Era. *Agricultural History* 60(4): 17-37.

Fraser, Douglas, Neal H. Lopinot, Michael J. McNerney, Edward M. Morin, and R. Gail White
1981 *A Cultural Resources Survey and Assessment of the Kofahl Tract, Mark Twain National Forest, Texas County, Missouri.* Cultural Resources Management Report No. 31, American Resources Group, Ltd., Carbondale, Illinois.

Futato, Eugene M.
1989 *An Archaeological Overview of the Tombigbee River Basin, Alabama and Mississippi.* Report of Investigations 59, Division of Archaeology, Alabama State Museum of Natural History, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.

Genealogy Society of Pulaski County, Missouri
1987 *Federal Census Pulaski County Missouri.* Geneaology Society of Pulaski County Missouri, Crocker.

Gerlach, Russel L.
1976 *Immigrants in the Ozarks, A Study in Ethnic Geography.* University of Missouri Press, Columbia.

Glassie, Henry
1968 Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States. *Monograph No. 1, in Folklore and Life.* University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Grinstead, John E.
1991 Integrated Natural Resources Management Plan For Fort Leonard Wood- Overview Executive Summary. Directorate of Engineering and Housing, United States Army Engineer Center and Fort Leonard Wood, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.

Goodspeed Publishing Company
1889 *History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps, and Dent Counties, Missouri.* The Goodspeed Publishing Company, Chicago. Reprint 1974, BNL Library Service, Independence, Missouri.

Guyette, R. and E.A. McGinnes
1982 Fire History of an Ozark Glade in Missouri. *Transactions of the Missouri Academy of Science* 16: 85-93.

Guyette, R. and B.E. Cutter
1991 Tree-ring Analysis of Fire History of a Post Oak Savanna in the Missouri Ozarks. *Natural Areas Journal* (11) 2: 93-99.

Hansen, Lonnie
1992 Success Story. *Missouri Conservationist*, Jefferson City, Missouri, November.

Happy Days Publishing Co.
1938 *Happy Days CCC Directory.* The Happy Days Publishing Co. Daily News Building, Washington, D.C. Copy on file, Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia.

Harland Batholomew & Associates, Inc.
1989 *Draft: Historic Preservation Plan, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. Harland Bartholomew & Associates, Inc.* Prepared for the Kansas City District, Corps of Engineers, Kansas City, Mo. Contract No. DACA 41-86-D-0064.

Harpers
1866 *Pictorial History of The Civil War, Part First.* McDonnell Brothers, Chicago, Illinois.

1866 *Pictorial History of the Civil War, Part Second.* McDonnell Brothers Chicago, Illinois.

Hart, John F.
1977 Land Rotation in Applachia. *Geographical Review* 67: 148-166.

Helton, Josephine M.
1988 A History of Our Family-Miller-Kelley-Page-Vaughan. Privately Published by Josephine M. Helton, Springfield, Missouri.

Hodder, Ian and Clive Orton
1976 *Spatial Analysis in Archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, London.

Hofstadter, Richard, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron
1967 *The United States, The History of A Republic.* Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Holland, Claudia C.
1990 Tenant Farms of the Past, Present, and Future: An Enthoarchaeological View. In Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms, edited by Charles E. Orser, Jr., *Historical Archaeology* 24(4): 60-69.

Hudson, John C.
1988 North American Origins of Middlewestern Frontier Populations. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78(3): 395-413.

Huff, Leo E.
1991 Guerrillas, Jayhawkers, and Bushwhackers in Northern Arkansas During the Civil War. *Ozarkswatch* Vol. 4,5 (4,1): 52-57.

Johnson, Paul
1991 *The Birth of the Modern World Society 1815-1830.* Harper Collins, Publishers, New York.

Jordan, Terry G. and Matti Kaups
1989 *The American Backwoods Frontier An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation.* The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.

Jurney, David H. and Randall W. Moir (editors)
1987 *Historic Buildings, Material Culture, and People of the Prairie Margin: Architecture, Artifacts, and Synthsis of Historic Archaeology.* Richland Creek Technical Series Volume 5, Archaeology Research Program, Institute for the Study of Earth and Man, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Kersten, Earl W., Jr.
1958 Changing Economy and Landscape in a Missouri Ozarks Area. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 48(4): 398-418.

Kimbrough, Mary
1946 Houses for Rent in Waynesville. *Star-Times*, April, 5. Clipping on File, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

King, James B.
1983 Bank of Niangua Linked to Counterfeit Money. *Old Settlers Gazette*, KJPW Radio, Waynesville, Missouri, 1: 15.

1985 *The Tilley Treasure.* S of O Press, School of the Ozarks, Point Lookout, Missouri.

Knehans, Gary
1991 That's The Way it Was in 1891. *Old Settlers Gazette*, KJPW Radio, Waynesville, Missouri, 9: 4-10.

Kniffen, Fred B.
1960 To Know The Land and Its People. *Landscape* 9(3): 20-23.

1965 Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55(4): 549-575.

Kniffen, Fred B. and Henry Glassie
1966 Building in Wood in the Eastern United States, A Time-Place Perspective. *Geographical Review* 56(40-66).

Ledgerwood, Samuel
1851-55 Memoranda Book. Ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collections, University of Missouri-Rolla.

Liesman, Frederick
1920 Pulaski County Super-Centenarian Contrasts Pioneer Days With the Present Era. Sunday Magazine, *St. Louis Post- Dispatch*, October 17. Clipping on file, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Little Piney Regular Baptist Association
1846 Minutes of the Little Piney Regular Baptist Association. Ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Rolla.

Little Piney United Baptist Association
1837 Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Little Piney United Baptist Association. Ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Rolla.

Malouf, Richard T.
1991 *Thematic Evaluation of Administrative and Fire Tower Sites on the Mark Twain National Forest, Missouri.* Ms. on file, Mark Twain National Forest Historical File, Rolla District, Rolla, Missouri.

Marbut, C.F.
1911 *Soil Reconnaissance of the Ozark Region of Missouri and Arkansas: Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils.* U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington.

Mayes, Don H.
1941 *Fort Leonard Wood.* Reprinted by the U.S. Army Engineer Museum, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.

McClelland, Linda Flint, J. Timophy Keller, Genevieve P. Kellar, and Robert Z. Melnick
1991 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes.* National Register Bulletin No. 30, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

McGrath, Kerry C. and Jack H. Ray
1987 *A Cultural Resources Survey of Locations in Crawford, Dent, Douglas, Howell, Iron, Madison, Phelps, Pulaski, Reynolds, St. Francois, and Washington Counties in the Rolla, Salem, Fredericktown, Willow Springs, and Potosi Districts, Mark Twain National Forest, Missouri: 1987.* Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield.

McNerney, Michael J. and W. Wesley Neal
1991 *A Phase I Historic Properties Investigations of Timber Sale Parcels, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.* Cultural Resources Management Report No. 154, American Resources Group, Ltd. Carbondale, Illinois. Prepared for Kansas City District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

McReynolds, Edwin C.
1962 *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Meyer, Douglas K.
1975 Diffusion of Upland South Folk Housing to the Shawnee Hills of Southern Illinois. *Pioneer America* 7(2): 56-66).

Meyer, Duane
1963 *The Heritage of Missouri-A History.* State Publishing Company, Saint Louis.

Miner, H. Craig
1972 *The St. Louis-San Francisco Transcontinental Railroad, The Thirty-Fifth Parallel Project, 1853-1890.* The University of Kansas Press, Lawrence.

Missouri Immigrant Society
1881 *Handbook of Missouri.* The Missouri Immigrant Society, St. Louis, Time Printing House, Fifth and Chesnut Streets.

Moffat, Charles R., Mary R. McCorvie, Michael J. McNerney
1989 *Phase I Archaeological Survey of Selected Areas at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.* American Resources Group, Inc. Prepared for Kansas City District, Corps of Engineers, Contract No. DACA41-86-D-0064, Kansas, City.

Monks, William
1907 *A History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas.* West Plains Journal Co., West Plains, Mo.

Moser, Arthur Paul
1973 A Directory of Towns, Villages, and Hamlets Past and Present of Pulaski County, Mo. Privately published. Ms. on file, Kinderhook Regional Library, Richland Service Center, Richland, Missouri.

Mottaz, Mabel Manes
1960 *Lest We Forget: A History of Pulaski County, Missouri and Fort Leonard Wood.* Cain Printing Co., Springfield.

Mussan, Albert H.
1941 *Implications of Land Use Adjustments In Connection With The Defense Program: The Relocation of Families Disturbed In The Construction of Fort Leonard Wood.* Division of State and Local Planning, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. Typewritten ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Columbia.

Nagel, Paul
1977 *Missouri A Bicentennial History.* W.W. Norton Company, Inc., New York.

National Park Service
1991 *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form.* National Register Bulletin 16B, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, Washington.

Nelson, Joseph
1949 *Backwoods Teacher.* J.B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

Newton, Milton Jr.
1971 The Annual Round in the Upland South: The Synchronization of Man and Nature Through Culture. *Pioneer America* 3(2): 63-73).

1974 Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South. *Man and Cultural Heritage, Geoscience and Man,* edited by H.J. Walker and W.G. Haag Volume 5: 143-154.

Niquette, Charles M.
1982 *Final Research Design for Archaeological and Historical Survey, Fort Leonard Wood Missouri.* Environmental Consultants, Inc., Lexington, Kentucky.

1983 *Preliminary Historic Preservation Plan: A Background Document for the Management of Archaeological and Historical Properties on Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.* Cultural Resources Report 83-16, Environmental Consultants, Inc., Dallas, Texas, and Lexington, Kentucky.

1984 *Archaeological Survey and Testing: The 1983 Field Season at Fort Leonard Wood, Pulaski County, Missouri.* Contract Publication Series 84-25, Cultural Resources Analysts, Inc., Lexington, Kentucky.

1985 *A Phase One Archaeological Assessment of Proposed Timber Sale Tracts, Fort Leonard Wood, Pulaski County, Missouri.* Prepared for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District, Cultural Resources Analysts, Inc., Lexington, Kentucky.

Niquette, Charles M., W. L. Shields, A.G. Henderson, S.M. Call, D.L. Prewitt, G.J. Fritz, and D.H. Jurney

1983 *A Phase I and II Investigation of Selected Survey Tracts, Fort Leonard Wood, Pulaski County, Missouri.* Cultural Resources Report 83-15, Environmental Consultants, Inc., Lexington, Kentucky.

Official Records of the War of the Rebellion
1880-1991 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Series I, Volumes 13 (Part 1), 22 (Part I), and Series 4, Volume 41 (Part 4), U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Orser, Charles E., Jr. and Claudia C. Holland
1984 Let Us Praise Famous Men, Accurately: Toward a More Complete Understanding of Postbellum Southern Agricultural Practices. *Southeastern Archaeology* 3: 111-120.

Otis, Alison T., William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Lakin
1986 *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42.* United States Department of Agriculture, U.S. Forest Service, FS-395, Pacific Crest Research and Services Corporation, Corvallis, Oregon.

Otto, John Solomon
1985 The Migration of the Southern Plain Folk: An Interdisciplinary Synthesis. *The Journal of Southern History* 51(2): 183-199.

Otto, John Solomon and Nain Estelle Anderson
1982 The Diffusion of Upland South Folk. *Southeastern Geographer* 22(2): 89-98.

Otto, John Solomon and Augustus Marion Burns III
1981 Traditional Agricultural Practices in the Arkansas Highlands. *Journal of American Folklore* 94(372): 166-187.

Owsley, Frank
1949 *Plain Folk of the Old South.* Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Park, Hugh (Editor)
1955 *Schoolcraft in the Ozarks: Reprint of Journal of a Tour into The Interior of Missouri and Arkansas in 1818 and 1819 by Henry R. Schoolcraft.* Press Argus Printers, Van Buren, Arkansas.

Parrish, William E., Charles T. Jones, Jr., and Lawrence O. Christensen
1980 *Missouri The Heart of the Nation.* Forum Press, St. Louis.

Price, Cynthia R. and James E. Price
1978 "Investigation of Settlement and Subsistence Systems In the Ozark Border Region of Southeast Missouri During the First half of the Nineteenth Century: The Widow Harris Cabin Project." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, San Antonio, Texas.

Pulaski County Democrat
1902 Neighborhood News. *Pulaski County Democrat,* July 11 and June 27. Microfilm on file, Kinderhook Regional Library, Waynesville Branch, Waynesville.

Pulaski County Historical Society
1982 *History of Pulaski County Missouri, Volume I.* Pulaski County Historical Society, Waynesville.

1984 *Tombstone Inscriptions Throughout Pulaski County, Missouri, Volume I.* Pulaski County Historical Society, Waynesville.

1985 *Tombstone Inscriptions Throughout Pulaski County, Missouri, Volume II.* Pulaski County Historical Society, Waynesville.

1987 *History of Pulaski County Missouri, Volume II.* Pulaski County Historical Society, Waynesville.

1990 *Picture-Stories-History of Pulaski County Rural Schools.* Pulaski County Historical Society. Ms. on File, Kinderhook Regional Library, Waynesville, Missouri.

Purrington, Burton and Betty Jane Turner
1981 *A Cultural Resources Survey of an 85-Acre Tract for the Proposed Construction of Landfill Areas, Fort Leonard Wood Military Reservation, Pulaski County, Missouri: 1981.* Prepared for Missouri Engineering Corporation. Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield.

Ray, Jack H., Edward M. Morin, Michael J. McNerney, and R. Gail White
1984 *A Phase I Cultural Resource Survey and Assessment on Residual Lands at Union Electric Company's Nuclear Power Plant, Callaway County, Missouri.* Cultural Resources Management Report No. 52, American Resources Group, Ltd., Carbondale, Illinois.

Rafferty, Milton D.
1980 *The Ozarks Land and Life.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1982 *Historical Atlas of Missouri.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1983 *Missouri: A Geography.* Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.

1985 *The Ozarks Outdoors: A Guide for Fishermen, Hunters, and Tourists.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Railroad Papers
n.d. Railroad Advertisement Flyer. Eureka Springs Arkansas and Frisco Line. Ms. on file, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Reeder, Robert L.
1988 *Prehistory of the Gasconade Basin.* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Resnik, Benjamin
1988 *The Williams Place: A Scotch-Irish Farmstead in the South Carolina Piedmont.* Volumes in Historical Archaeology III, edited by Stanley South, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Routh, Roberta
1941 *The Army Comes to the Ozarks: As Seen Through the Eyes of the Pulaski County Social Security Division of Public Assistance.* Typewritten ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Columbia.

Ryan, Joe
1992 *Final Report of the Missouri Natural Features Inventory of Laclede, Phelps, and Pulaski Counties.* Natural History Division, Missouri Department of Conservation, Jefferson City.

Sabo, George III
1990 Historic Europeans and Americans. In *Human Adaptation in the Ozark and Ouachita Mountains*, by George Sabo III, Ann M. Early, Jerome C. Rose, Barabara A. Burnett, Louis Vogele, Jr., and James P. Harcourt, Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 31, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

Salmond, John A.
1967 *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Study*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.

Santeford, Lawrence G., William A. Martin, and E. Thomas Hemmings
1985 *Excavations at Four Sites in the Cypress Creek Basin, Conway County, Arkansas*. Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Report No. 24, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

Sauer, Carl Ortwin
1920 *The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

1963 The Morphology of Landscape. In *Land and Life, A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, edited by John Leighly, pp. 315-350. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe
1819 *A view of the Lead Mines of Missouri*. C. Wiley and Co., New York.

Schroeder, Paul T.
1989 Bloodland, Not Just Another Dead Post Office. Post Mark Collector's Club Bulletin, Post Mark Collectors Club, Inc. 42(6): 10.

Schultz, Gerard
1937 *Early History of the Northern Ozarks*. Midland Printing Company, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Schultz, Robert G.
1982 *Missouri Post Offices 1804-1981*. American Philatelic Society, St. Louis Branch No. 4.

Shortridge, James R.
1980 The Expansion of the Settlement Frontier in Missouri. *Missouri Historical Review* 75(1):64-90.

Shumard, B.F.
1873 Chapter XIII, Pulaski County. In *Reports on the Geological Survey of the State of Missouri 1855-1871*, by G.C. Broadhead, F.B. Meek and B.F. Shumard, Bureau of Geology and Mines, Regan, & Carter Printers, Jefferson City.

Smith, Steven D.
1991 *A Comparison of the Documentary Evidence of Material Culture and the Archaeological Record: Store Ledgers and Two Black Tenant Sites, Waverly Plantation, Mississippi*. Volumes in Historical Archaeology XII, edited by Stanley South, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Smith, Steven D., David F. Barton and Timothy B. Riordan
1982 *Enthoarcheology of the Bay Springs Farmsteads: a Study of Rural American Settlement*. National Technical Information Service, Washington.

Stewart Abernathy, Leslie C.
1986 *The Moser Farmstead, Independent But Not Isolated: The Archeology of a Late Nineteenth Century Ozark Farmstead*. Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 26, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

Steyermark, Julian A.
1959 *Vegetational History of the Ozark Forest.* The University of Missouri Studies, Columbia.

1963 *Flora of Missouri.* Iowa State University Press, Ames.

Stine, Linda France
1989 *Raised Up in Hard Times, Circa 1900-1940.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Stone, A.H.
1864 Letter to Ida, February 20, 1864, Private 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry. Ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri Rolla.

Switzler, William F.
1879 *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri, From 1541 to 1877.* C.R. Barns Editor and Publisher, St. Louis. Reprinted 1975 by Arno Press, A New York Times Company.

Swallow, G.C.
1859 *Geological Report of the Country Along The Line of The South-Western Branch of the Pacific Railroad, State of Missouri.* St. Louis, Printed by George Knapp and Co.

Taylor, Mabel Carver
1990 Romance of the Roubidoux. *Old Settlers Gazette*, KJPW, Waynesville, Missouri, 8: 40.

Thorndale, William and William Dollarhide
1987 *Map Guide to the Federal Census, 1790-1920.* Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, Maryland.

Turner, Frederick Jackson
1920 *The Frontier in American History.* Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Turpin Tom
n.d. Our Ancestors in Pulaski County Missouri. Ms. on file, Kinderhook Regional Library, Waynesville, Missouri.

United States Army Corps of Engineers
1991 Scope of Work For Historic Background Research At Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. Kansas City District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City.

United States Census
1840 Sixth Census of Population, Missouri District.

1850 Seventh Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1860 Eighth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1870 Ninth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1880 Tenth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1890 Eleventh Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1900 Twelth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1930 Fifteenth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1940 Sixteenth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1860 Eighth Census of Manufacturers, State of Missouri.

1880 Tenth Census of Manufacturers, State of Missouri.

1840 Sixth Census of Agriculture, District of Missouri.

1860 Eighth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1880 Tenth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1900 Twelth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1920 Fourteenth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri.

1940 Sixteenth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri.

Vincent, J.W.
1913 The Slicker War and its Consequences. *Missouri Historical Review* VII(3): 138-145.

Wagner, Philip L.
1974 Cultural Landscapes and Regions: Aspects of Communication. In *Man and Cultural Heritage: Geoscience and Man,* Vol. 5, edited by Bob F. Perkins, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, pp. 133-142.

Weaver, David C. and James F. Doster
1982 *Historical Geography of the Upper Tombigbee Valley.* Report Submitted to the National Park Service, Alburquerque, New Mexico. Center for the Study of Southern History and Culture, University of Alabama, University.

Wedel, Mildred Mott
1972 Claude-Charles Dustiné A Review of his 1719 Journey, Part I. *Great Plains Journal* (12):4-25.

1973 Claude-Charles Dustiné A Review of his 1719 Journey, Part II. *Great Plains Journal* (13): 146-173.

Welsh Family Letters
1839 Welsh Family Letters 1839-1854. Folder R 391 on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Rolla.

Weston, Donald E., and Michael S. Weichman (editors)
1987 *Master Plan for Archaeological Resources Protection in Missouri.* Archaeological Associates and Environmental Systems Analysis, for the Division of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City.

Wetmore, Alphonso (complier)
1837 *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri.* C. Keemle Publisher, St. Louis. Reprinted 1975, Arno Press, A New York Times Company.

Wilhelm, E.J. Jr.
1967 Folk Settlement Types in The Blue Ridge Mountains. *Keystone Folklore Quarterly, Fall* pp. 151-174.

Willey, Gordon R. and Philip Phillips
1958 *Method and Theory in American Archaeology.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Williams, Walter (editor)
1904 *The State of Missouri: An Autobiography.* For The Missouri Commission To The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, E.W. Stephens, Columbia.

Wills, Nellie (Stites)
1968 *The First Hundred Years of Crocker.* Privately Published. Copy on file, U.S. Army Engineer Museum, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.

Wilson, Eugene M.
1974 Form Changes in Folk Houses. *Geoscience and Man* 5: 65-71.

Wilson, Pearl Brown
1990 Wharton Store and Post Office. Ms. on file, U.S. Army Engineer Museum, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.

Wolf, David W.
1989 *Soil Survey of Pulaski County, Missouri.* U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Washington.

Works Progress Administration
1935-1942 Historical Records Survey, Missouri. Folder 17364. Microfilm on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Columbia.

Writers Program
1941 *Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State.* Works Progress Administration, Missouri State Highway Department, Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, New York.

Wyant, Cindy
1992 Memo From Cindy Wyant to Steven D. Smith. On file, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, December 14.

York, William Lawrence and Eula V. York
1975 *Forty-'Leven Stories About Forty-Leven People.* Western Publishing Co., Republic, Missouri.

Zelinsky, Wilbur
1951 Where the South Begins, The Northern limits of the Appalachian South in Terms of Settlement Landscapes. *Social Forces* 30: 172-178.